THE
Course of Conformitie,

As it { Hath proceeded,
Is concluded,
Should be refused.

PSALM. 94. 20.

Shall the throne of iniquitie haue fellowship with me, which frameth mischiefe by a law.

by certain Sect, ministers of England

Printed in the yeare 1622.

THE PREFACE
TO THE READER.

IN the restlesse revolution of this troublesome world, driving everie person and purpose to their appointed ends, all being under vanitie, one generation passeth, and another succeedeth with as many grievous novelties, as strange alterations: Mutation the inseparable companion of motion, like a Princesse presuming upon the kingdoms, kirks, and families of the earth. But by the soveraigne providence of that unchangeable God, who directeth the steps of man, and hath put in his own power the time to plant and the time to pluck up that which is planted, is so oversweyed & in the most variable and different humors of men so limited, that some as the scoffers of the last dayes, laughing at mutation, say, Where is the promise of his comming: Others, to wit, the wicked man in his prosperitie, persecuteth the poore, saying he shall never be moved: A third sort, viz. the slavish time-server, like soft waxe, flexible to every new forme, boweth to mutation, making her variant colours his crowne and contentment: And the best sort, the wise Christian, hating change, and loving constancie, striveth to walk circumspectly, redeeming the time from the dangerous currant: All these, and others whatsoever, whether by sinne irregular, or by grace sincere and straight, by supreme wisedome, are so disposed that they must needs serve the holy proiects of Iustice and Mercie for the honour of God, and salvation of his chosen.

In this continuall course Mutation so prevaileth upon succeeding generations, that as they are distant from the first times, they decline from primitiue innocencie, and as they ap-

proach to the later dayes, they participate of their evils. Yea so forcible is Defection (the daughter of this Mutation) in the congregations of the faithfull, that the vacant places of the righteous departed are seldome or never filled againe, their labours followeth them, and they are forgotten. If the kirk bee in Ægypt, Ioseph dieth, and there ariseth a new king there who knew not Ioseph. When the people enters into the land, Iosua and that generation is gathered to their fathers, and another generation ariseth up after them which neither knoweth the Lord, nor the works which he had done for Israel by Moses and Iosua, in Ægypt, at the red sea, in the wildernesse, and at the entrance into the promised land. And in the land it selfe, after Athaliahs troubles Ioash, whose life was saved by Iehoiada, and in whose dayes he did that which was righteous in the sight of the Lord, after his death hearkneth to the Princes who make obeysance to the King, and leaving the house of the Lord God of their fathers, serve idols, but Ioash remembreth not the kindnesse done by Iehoiada, but slayeth his sonne.

As by these strange alterations fearfull eclipses were brought upon the face of common honesty, likely to banish religion out of the earth, so under the ends of the world surpassing the preceeding generations in loue decayed, and iniquitie multiplied, if it were not the rich mercy and undeserved loue of the Lord not to suffer the rod of the wicked to rest upō the lot of the righteous, but now and then in the middest of confusions brought on by Mutation, to refresh them under the sweet shadowes of peace and prosperitie, the very elect could hardly escape. If adversitie beare the sway, the people of God are in hazard to put out their hands to evill: and if prosperitie prevaile, then the kingdome of heaven is likened unto a man who sowed good seed in his field, but while men slept, his enemie came and sowed tares among the wheat, which may not be gathered up till the harvest, lest the wheat also be rooted up with them. When the Lord his field shall be once infected with such venemous mixture of false teachers, & their foolish disciples, renouncing their own libertie, & slavishly submitting

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themselues without triall to follow their seducers in lascivi-ousnes and avarice for atchieving their own vitious hopes, if Israel were not poured from vessel to vessel, they should freeze upon their dreggs like Moab, & so loose not only their come-ly countenance, but the health and life of their substantiall e-state: the deceitful colours of these supervenient weeds so daz-ling the eyes of the common sort, for the most part more natu-rall then spirituall, and either vailed with black ignorance, or blind hypocrisie, that religiō in her natiue simplicitie & purity seemeth to them an handmaid rather then a mistres, if she bee not busked with some new guise of one alteration or other.

In this change, if a Priest or a Levit, or any of the ancient shall happen to weep for the first Temple, by the meanes of mutati-on thus defaced, or enquire for the old way, by ignorance in the reasonlesse multitude, by pride in high places, and perversi-tie of reputed learning, he maketh himselfe a prey, a troubler of Israel, and not meet to liue. There ariseth no small stirre a-bout that way, whole cities are filled with confusion, and the cry goeth up for the Diana of the time. If Paul himselfe were gotten, he would not passe with *pestilent fellow*, but stone him to the death before he be heard; yea when the furie of Mutati-on inflameth the minds of Barbarians, if they see a viper of ad-versity on a mans hand, they say surely he is a murtherer, and if no inconvenience follow, he is a God. So madly are the hearts of men set in them, privily to blind themselues with the beams of their own particulars, and the world with open shew of seeming zeale for justice and religion.

The toyles & tossings of these Circæan changes, are ever so unsavourie to a man of a quiet spirit, that if the wronged inno-cencie of a just cause, shamelesse violence done to the rights & priviledges of religion, and the intolerable pride practised a-gainst famous kirks vnheard, could be closed up in any tolera-ble silence, honest men knowing very well that the railings of reprochers never woundeth a good conscience, could rather choose to sustaine a legion of bitter aspersions, for peace to preach the Gospell, then either to interrupt their owne tranquilitie, or giue the least cause of suspition to any,

that they were brought from the ſweet courſe of their pure, peaceable, and ſimple wiſedome, to contend for their imputed fame and reputation, and ſo to hinder the preaching of Chriſt. For what matter is it though men be deſpiſed, diſgraced and ſcorned, ſo long as the Lord may bee honoured thereby. But when the night of ſecuritie ſhall bee ſo dark, and ſhameleſſe pride aſcend to ſuch a height, that not onely the lower ſort, but men of great ſpirits and places can with a deafe eare paſſe by the wrongs done to ſincere profeſſours, faithfull miniſters and martyrs of good memorie, but by a ſort of bruciſh patience, ſuffer a ſubſtantiall truth to be borne down, and blaſphemed, and for a forlorne tradition, or worm-eaten ceremonie ſhamefully ſhot forth; yea a ſetled forme of godlineſſe by long and happy experience univerſally approved, to be diſplaced for far-fetched devices of needleſſe novelties; and the beſt ſubiects, walking in knowledge of their dutie, & conſcientious converſation, without any juſt cauſe openly traduced, that they are not Cæſars friends, in a falſe policie to make the righteous cauſe odious to authoritie. If there be any children of Moſes, to eſteeme the rebuke of Chriſt greater riches then the treaſures of the world, or of zealous Elihu, to haue his wrath kindled againſt violence done to a juſt cauſe, & wrongs to harmleſſe men otherwiſe deſerving, with what eares ſhall he heare the terrour of that trumpet, *If we deny him, he will alſo deny us*, and the ſpirit of grace with courage raiſing his blaſt by a ſweeter inforcement, *If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall alſo reigne together*: eſpecially now in theſe back-ſliding dayes, when men who not onely ſeemed moſt forward to root out Papiſts, but zealous that reformation then profeſſed by themſelues, and praiſed as the work of God, might ſtand and grow; haue now by ſome ſecret (but ſtrange) inſpiration of inchanting Mutation, not onely ſharpned their tongues, that their words might be as the pricking of a ſword, but alſo dippped their pens in gall to write and ſpeak againſt their brethren; and for a muddy and myſticall conformitie (who can tell to what) but abhorred in Scotland ever ſince reformation, as the reſt of the Roman traſh, howſoever of late, without ſhame of contrarie pra-

ctises in mens owne persons, hurled in againe to be the wall and tower of new Episcopacie, cunningly brought in by her Intrant the constant Moderator, and solemnly set up to remain the Atlas of their kingdome, with full power of Lordly domination to be exercised over the kirk for the fiue Articles, the fundamentall lawes of that usurped authoritie, and to put forth and hold forth the lawfull and necessarie assemblies of the kirk, as enemies to the power of Princes. But contrarily both reason and experience making plaine, that the kings of the earth were never pressed downe with any lawfull assembly Ecclesiasticall, or any way dissleyfed of kirk Iurisdiction, with which the Lord originally had possessed them: but Episcopacie, as time hath favoured her insatiable desires, by dispossessing and bringing downe both kings and kirks, hath set up and holdeth up Papistrie, ever evill masters, like fire and water, but never better servants then treacherous slaues lying in wait to oppresse their masters.

It may be that the Patrones and urgers of this course wittingly aime not at the reducing of Papistrie, and for any thing yet known, charitie would they should not bee misdeemed in that grosse sinne. Nevertheless, as a certaine learned man sayth of some of the Ancients, that unwittingly, and against their wills, they made a way for Antichrist: so it may be feared of some so diligent to catch occasions, by envy to exclude and degrade them that are good and painfull, and so ready to defend their own fault, that rather then they wil leaue them, they paine themselues to devise how to raise up troubles in the kirk, and driue men from it into conventicles and corners, very farre different from the wise Pilot, vvhen the tempest inforceth, empticth the ship of some things to saue the rest, but they cast out the Pilots of the ships themselues, to saue these Romish wares, trifles and customes, as they tearme them: and againe so negligent to censure great corruptions in such as are praised for their readinesse to admit by implicit faith whatsoever is offered, and to stand in contention about mens traditions, likely to lay the kirk waste. Although they do not intentiuely seek to bring in Papistry, yet whiles in a desire

ſire thus to uphold their owne Lordſhips over Gods heritage, they preſſe their own traditions more then the weightier matters of the law, the practiſe of the ceremonie more then the obſervation of the Lords day, kneeling at the receiving of the ſacrament out of the Miniſters hand, more then the catechiſing of the people, and true meaning of the Lords inſtitution, praiſing the conforme hypocrite, ignorant or ſenceleſſe, aboue the wiſe Chriſtian rooted and grounded in the Goſpell, they giue a great hope to the limbs of Antichriſt to ſettle their tottering kingdome, and a more eaſie entrance for the whole body of abhominations, then they are aware of. England feeleth and feareth already, and Scotland hath cauſe to faſt and pray, that the opinion & practiſe of theſe ceremonies may be removed as farre from them, as busking and balling ſhould be from chaſt women. It is a prodigious preſage, that ſtatutes ſuch as they are, and procured as they were in favours of dangerous novelties, ſhould be more vehemently urged, and with greater rigor put in execution againſt the true ſervants of God for modeſt adherence to a truth never condemned, and for refuſall of needleſſe rites never proved to be lawful by Gods word, nor by any good appearance like to proue profitable, then all the good ſtatutes ſtanding in force againſt idolatry and Idolaters, blaſphemers and murtherers, & open contemners of the Lords word and his ſervice, as if the whole obedience of a Chriſtian ſubiect were incloſed in the practiſe of certain rites juſtly caſt forth of this kirk in the ignominious duſt of other errours: or Chriſtian charity were confined to the divided brotherhoood of indifferent things..

State Divines think better of government once received, then that it ſhould be toſſed and interrupted with all the contrarie tides of rituall controverſies. Wiſedome (ſay they) will rather tolerate ſome evill in a tried forme of government, then in a government vntried. Yea though a thing bee well done, yet it looſeth the credit, if it ſavour of noveltie. If a man might ſay with an upright heart, that which I maintaine is the doctrine of the holy fathers, I haue their witneſſes at large, taken out their owne bookes, if for ſuch a cauſe he be caſten

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out, he may say in the joy of a good conscience, I am cast out with the Fathers. This is the case of the Ministers of Scotland standing against the Hierarchie, and the props therof. And for this cause, with many vehement out-cries are they shamefully charged with the blind accusations of disobedience to King and Kirk, of ignorance in matters of Gods worship, of Puritanisme, of popularitie, of foolishnesse, striving for trifles, indifferent things determinable and determinate by the Prince, of schisme tending to heresie, of trouble and sedition, of scrupulositie of conscience after all possible courses taken for resolving of doubts, of zealous but ignorantly so called, of hypocrisie, of niceness and obstinacie, wishing to haue entred in the new way at first, and blushing now to change after standing so long: and for these and many moe foule imputations vnworthy to be named among Christians, peremptorily judged by such as haue their silogismes in their heeles, lesse tolerable in the kirk and countrey. Let them be charged with contempt or disobedience, that can giue no good reason of their doing, the world hath seen the reasons of their doings these 60 yeares and aboue, and the matter it selfe speaketh. The least brook of Papistry must bee avoyded by such as would not perish in the great rivers thereof: small dropps make great flouds: through smal rifts the water soaketh in, the pumpe is filled, and the ship is drowned. Though the ceremonies be small, yet the evills that rise of them, are not small; If they be small, there is the lesse hurt in leaving of them, and the more wilfulnesse in disgracing the service & the servants of God for them. It is to be remembred, what Iulian once sayd, *If it be enough to accuse, Who shall bee innocent?* not Moses, not Ezra, not Nehemiah, not the prophets, not Christ himselfe, nor his Apostles upon whom all these and many moe slanders lay, But God forbid that the servants of God should doe such things; with whomsoever those things are found, let him die, and let the rest of his brethren following or favouring his course, be bond-men: But if the servants of the Lord thus slandered be sakelesse, and yet men haue risen up to persecute them, & to estrange from them, yea to inflame his Majesties heart, the hearts of his nobles, Iudges, Barons, and

people against them, let the soules of his servants be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord their God, and the soule of their enemies shall God cast out, as out of the middle of a sling. It is a dangerous case to be carried with a bent resolution to defame, and to rake together foule untruths, not considering what may be spoken most truely, nor what may be ratled out most disgracefully like a swelling brook that soone gathereth much filth. These slanderous calumnies are like a thorn standing in the hand of a drunkard; it is hard to judge whom they shall hurt. They are but a pretended quarrell against honest men by prejudice to condemn their cause before it be heard, according to the proverbe, *He that would haue his dogge killed, giveth forth first that he is madd.* If these be reall crimes, they are farre aboue the omission of a ceremonie; let them be truely libelled, carefully cognosced, wisely discerned, and condignely punished. If undeserved calumnies, let the Lord impute them to none, and let no man impute them to the Lords people, their owne consciences witnessing before God, that such things they never thought, but rather let them be rejected as senceles scoffings of Sarcasticall bitternes crossing Christianity, and contrarie to gentlenes and loue. To burie them in silence had been their best condition, but when all meanes are sought to make the faithfull even to stink among the inhabitants of the land, it can no wise beseeme the ministeriall calling to secret the truth, and by a cowardly kind of modestie to betray a good cause malitiously wounded through the sides of honest men, craftily burdened with scandalls for bearing down their cause in a dangerous time. When so many not onely commons in the profession, and novices in the ministerie, but some great Pastors fall away no lesse from their wonted faithfulnesse, then from the ancient order whereby they were kept in the course of their ministerie, are now by the force of time become otherwise minded, undertaking by their publick teaching and example, by their private conference, and all other meanes, not onely to perswade this new conformitie so farre contrarie to the forme whereunto they were delivered, but also with great hate, and unkindly carriage to their brethren and old acquaintance,

tance, to carpe and quarrell, what can bee most truely and modestly sayd or written in favours of the truth, which they best know, as if they were become their enemies, because they hold on the good way which they haue left, most unjustly confining faith, loue, and all Christianitie, within the dark region of conformitie, wherein dwelleth the divided brotherhood of that vntried stranger.

Againe, when good people of tender hearts are boasted, allured, and every way tempted to blot their consciences with things they never knew to be profitable, nor comely in their profession, are heavily disquieted for lack of cleare information to strengthen their resolution for standing in the truth against errors.

Moreover, when after better sight, and more sound advisement, they who haue been stollen off their feet, may rise and repent, and by the mercie of God returne againe to the right way.

Or when a publick testimonie may be given the Pentriers like Antipater writing against Carneades and the Champions of this time, who haue swat so much to cast downe the holy Discipline, and to set up the Hierarchie with her ceremoniall traine.

Or when at the pleasure of God they that now liue, & such as shall come after, may be helped to see the harvest, and taste the fruits of necessarie labours now to bee taken against the shadows of Papistry, which we must detest, as the body and substance of that ugly heresie. If in such a necessarie time all the men of God should onely lay their hand upon the hurt place, and secretly mourne, it were childish and ridiculous, the good cause being in danger, and the faithfull in hazard of vntimous silence.

There is here from a ready minde and a good will, the wise mans aneugh, a word of peace and puritie lossed, Indifferencie found, and Conformitie urged, to hold out old Vnitie, to inlarge affected indifferencie, and to set up the children of absolute Conformitie in the stately chaires of both kirk and kingdome. The full historie and ample treatise of

the birth, education, and high promotion of this respected couple Indifferencie and Conformitie, with the controversies brought in Scotland, and increased thereby, requireth larger volumnes then any Aurelius of this time will bee nicknamed *Pupillus* for necessarie charges to such a work, while better occasion. This Scotized conformitie for the present must stand at the paines of Archippus and Epaphras, two honest Epitomists, and venturing themselues upon the stage to bee glowred upon by every evill eye, or rather casting themselues upon thornes, to be gored by every sharpe tongue. They are both good Patrons where ever they be. Archippus must take heed to the ministerie which he hath received of the Lord, that hee fulfill it, and Epaphras a servant of Christ labourreth fervently for you in prayers, and by all meanes that you may stand perfect and compleat in all the will of God. Archippus desirous to strengthen himselfe by learning, and Epaphras ready to lay out his Talent to exchange, haue diligently survayed the historie of the Kirk of Scotland concerning the forenamed particulars, & painfully searched the doctrine of indifferent things, shooting up in a short abridgement their best observations for present use, and clearly shewing, how conformitie came in by little and little without feeling, like Poperie comming to perfection by Ceremoniousnesse and Ambition, the ceremonies furnishing her with a seeming beautie to allure, and Ambition an vnresistable power to afray. They intend no way to prejudge or extinguish the worthy volumes of the learned, but rather to spurre men of good conscience, and meet gifts to search and set forth fully and in perfect order these worthy purposes according to their great zeale to a sound religion so long professed, and by the blessing of God upon their labours, to gain such as respecting their conscience more then their credit, with vertues tincture shall blush after the sight of the evill they haue committed, with hearty repentance turning their praise of men to the praise of God to their ioy and comfort, as Augustines Retractations are the glorie and crowne of all his writings. So much the rather as the causes of their yeelding haue been, in some lack of acquaintance & sight

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of the matters in question: in others simplicity, presuming that nothing would be required, but that which they might safely yeeld unto: in a third sort, a desire to be imployed in the service of the kirk, thinking it more easie to beare these corruptions, then to abide rigour: and a fourth sort deceived by policie, thinking that their yeelding with protestation should limitate to them the ordinarie forme whereunto others are tied, without altering at least in many inconveniences that may ensue upon the obedience required. It were a worke of singular loue to help such, and many others under the restraints of feare and other infirmities, who undoubtedly, if they were permitted to use their own libertie without hazarding themselues upon the pikes of the law, would with great joy returne to their best beloved profession, and by their happy repentance quickly bring to confusion the reioycing of Papists & Atheists, braving Ministers and professours to their faces, and saying plainly, that they hope ere it be long, to see them all either come to them, or come to nothing. But feare them not, they are lying Prophets, evill men and seducers they are, and shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived: but continue thou in the things that thou hast learned, and been assured of.

In this case of good Christians falling by infirmitie, & proud enemies bragging of their hopes, let it not be thought strange, that the louers of the primitiue beautie of the reformed kirk, earnestly wish to haue it restored againe, and for that cause modestly shrink at a new statute standing in the contrary. First, he breaks the band of obedience, sayth one, who doth it without cause. If the refusers haue not alledged causes iustifiable in the consciences of any, who will debate the matter between God and their own soules, let them be better taught. Authority may crush them, it cannot perswade them. 2. The first act anent kneeling, whereupon the alledged disobedience is grounded, is to be better considered, at least in the doctrinall part, where by the words of the Psalme, as it forceth the text, it maketh kneeling necessarie, and not indifferent, contrarie to the judgement of the most inclinable sort, who openly professe, that if authoritie would be pleased to favour the former order of the kirk,

they would gladly return thereunto. Againe, it is granted, that the kirk of Scotland hath vsed since the reformation of religion, to celebrate the holy communion to the people sitting, where the true reason moving them so to do, viz. (*The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministred, when it approcheth most neer to Christ his own action: but plain it is at that supper Christ Jesus sate with his disciples: and therfore do we iudge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action*) is omitted, and another convoyed in, to wit (by reason of the great abuse of kneeling vsed in the Idolatrous worship of the sacraments by the Papists) which indeed should be granted to be a reason of very great weight. But how weak a removall of this reason is insert in the act to cast out sitting and bring in kneeling, let them declare in the presence of God, that haue changed upon such a reason, and urge others to doe the like, if all memorie of by-past superstition be passed out of Scotland, or if it be not rather renued and increased. But in these matters for good reasons, men must sparingly speak. 3. It hath never been, neither can be proved by Scripture, that the Magistrates commandement simply and nakedly considered, without some warrant of the word of God, can be reputed a true spirituall guide to lead the conscience of a subject in a matter of religion, or action of Gods worship in such assurance, that he may say in the presence of God, my opinion is sound, and action acceptable, because the magistrate hath commanded it, men being assured that Magistrates may erre in their iniunctions; and assemblies convened by the kings maiesties authoritie, may command and inact things unlawfull and unprofitable. Ask the scripture, whether ever the good Kings among the Iewes, or else where, brought in any speciall action or ceremony into the service of God, without some speciall warrant from himself, or whether they did devise ought, or received the devices of ecclesiasticall assemblies in their dominions, and impose the one or the other upon the Levits, or upon any bearing office in the sanctuarie, restraining them from their publick function without obedience to it; or whether ever by any of the messengers of God, the people were taught, that for the outward form and circumstance of Gods worship, a civill

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ſtatute or conſtitution of the kirk, without further ſearching of the ſcriptures, might be their ground, upon which they might build their obedience unto God, without further inquirie. 4. It is a received rule of Chriſtian libertie, at leaſt ſhould be in reformed kirkes, that the ordinances of the kirke are preſented unto Paſtors and people, not with neceſſitie of beleeving, but with libertie of trying, according to the rule, *Try the ſpirits*. It is the Lords own priviledge, that his iniunctions are to be received without queſtioning. It is likewiſe permitted by royall proviſion, that where the law was otherwiſe, men may not only content themſelues ſoberly & quietly with their owne opinions, but alſo preſſe by patience, and well-grounded reaſons either to perſwade all the reſt to like of their judgements, or where they ſee better grounds to incline thereto. It is the part of a temporizing hypocrite, of the ſervant of men, and not of the ſervant of God, to frame their actions to that which is cõmanded without any cõſcience of a truth, whether they know it or not, polluting the world with a brutiſh obedience, whiles without any reaſon in him that obeyeth, and whiles againſt the knowledge, whereby God hath inlightned his own mind.

In this inſuing treatiſe perſons are ſpared, and ſundry things hieroglyphically and ſummarily ſet down which muſt bring to readers leſſe acquainted with theſe matters ſome obſcuritie, but be not offended. Soberly and quietly peace is ſought without preiudice of any perſon or purpoſe, ſo farre as the clearing of the truth may ſuffer. You haue here to remember that old caution propounded by a Father to the Emperour, *Take away the perill of the ſtatute*, &c. It is permitted to the maintainers of novelties, to uſe a continued, plentifull, and running ſpeech, which here is not to be found. For if the entiſing ſpeeches of mans wiſedome were true tokens of wiſedome indeed, the ſwallowes as they are ſwifter, may juſtly bee ſayd to bee aboue man in wiſedom. *Paul* for the truth is rude in ſpeaking, his preſence weak, & his ſpeech contemptible. But *Tertullus* pleading againſt him in a mask of eloquence, is admired for his pompous ſtile.

The matters in queſtion every where are ſo backed with all

meanes

meanes of credit in the hands of the one partie, and so borne down by vehement cries in the weaknes of the other. Mutation having now turned up-side-down, that where before the truth had favour to be spoken & heard without fear. In companies now a man must needs lay his hand upon his eare for hearing the partie absent, or fall in folly and shame to answer a matter before he hath heard it. The truth is not to be measured by the means of them that speak for it, and all calumnies are but swines flesh, though they be dressed after a divers fashion. The cause in controversie wronged by the violence of the time, may justly complaine of *Impar congressus* in respect of worldly helpes in the particulars following, and many moe. The new course hath the countenance of the world: But it fareth with the ancient profession, as with the Gospell it selfe: *Hane any of the rulers beleeved in him.* Excepting alwayes the honorable Peeres of the land, whose loue is more large then their credit. 2. The most part of the ancient ministers & professors, are removed either out of this life, or out of their former mind, and many out of their places, and such as arise up, and are admitted to the ministerie, must sweare & subscriue to maintaine and defend privatly and publickly the alterations inforced. 3. There is very few to be found having courage for the truth, to honor God with their credit & riches: such receiue the Gospell with a provision of safetie to their own estate, & the poore who receive the Gospell, are willing, but not able both to doe and suffer for the truth. 4. The patrons and proctours of this new plea are richly rewarded with a fat benefice, or great sums of the taxation and benefices promised: but the defenders are ready to be respected with *Deprive* and *Confine*. 5. They haue a strong assistance, but the other are few & weak, and if they be permitted to remain in their places, they are tied to the daily pains of their callings, and care of their families; and if they be thrust forth, they are forced to provide for their owne necessities, having no time for these matters, but stolne houres. 6. The one partie hath libertie to meet with full help of all requisite meanes, few or many, where and when, at their owne pleasure. The other if two or three of them meet upon their

lawfull

lawfull affaires, it is a scandall of Conventicle, & a matter of challenge. 7 They are judges of their own cause, and haue at their right hand the power of Kirk and policie; but the cause of the other is like the widow & the fatherlesse, no man will heare it. 8 To them all the Presses are open and expenses furnished: Printers beyond sea are troubled upon suspicion of having the copies of the other. 9 Their assertions are probations: the contrary cause acknowledged for a sound truth in secret, is in publick respected as an errour. 10 Threatned dangers maketh men afrayed to reade, write or print in favours of the one; all may be done to the advancement of the other with great commendation. 11 For loue of peace and lack of meanes, necessary purposes, as the answer to a rabble of untruthes known to a many yet living, hatched by *Joan Fani Andreæ Arch ep.* and favoured with a latine complexion of some despised Doctor, and idle for lack of patients, and presented to the world under the triumphing title, *Refutatio libelli de regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.* The answer to the Doctors, *Lyndesay, David Brechin, & Micheison*, their bragging and begging pamphlets: The answer to Mercenary *Tilen* his pragmaticall parænesis &c. are hid from the light, while necessitie call for them.

Finally, were there a change made of the prosperous case of the one cause with the adversity of the other, or would the world but smile or frowne equally on both; they would not busie the Printer and Reader so much. But the æquivalent of that old truth, *poore Luther made many rich*, is in some sort verified in this cause: and that which preaching substance against Papists could not procure, pleading for ceremonies against Protestants hath procured. The Defenders haue no other comfort, but that they deliver their soules, discharge their consciences and serue for witnesses to the truth, and least they be witnesses also against thee, Take heed to thy selfe; be not one of those who either for loue of the world wil not like a known truth, or who fear to read & know the truth, lest they find themselues obliged to follow it, and so either be moved to change their present course, which may seem unprofitable, or else be vexed with a crying conscience for keeping it, and that will proue unpleasant. Think not their labours like the circlings made by *Archimedes*, when *Marcellus* was on the sea and nigh unto the ports of Syracuse, except thou remember also that by his weake

 meanes

meanes the Citie was a long time defended against the Roman enemie, albeit at last with the losse of his life. Neither be thou over vvise to say, they might haue been like the good Geographers, who seldome trouble themselues with the description of small Brooks, but waite on till by confluence they make great rivers, and are disburdened into sea. For had the riverets either been dryed up in time, or yet were drained in severall chanels, the maine streame would not swell so big, nor the great Whore, that sitteth upon many waters proue so stately amongst us. Onely first, for stirring up thy own soule, think with thy selfe how like the times of our Kirk may prooue unto the darkenesse of the ninth Centurie after Christ, which the Centuriatours obserue to haue proceeded of foure pregnant causes: 1 the excessiue loue of mens writts with the neglect of Scripture: 2 the præeminence of some persons aboue others: 3 the multiplication of ceremonies and humane inventions: 4 persecution and oppression of the most sound in heart and judgement. Secondly, for judging of the Defenders part, consider that howsoever they be commanded to loue such as hate them, and pray for such as persecute them, yet how small reason they haue to beleeue that they who persecute them, thinke that in so doing they doe God good service. And thirdly, for thy own resolution, remember that the sentence of Christs throne, and the voyces of men in the world are farre different. Thy times and wayes are in the Lords hands. Set thy selfe in his presence; view the course as it began, proceeded, hath been resisted, should be refused, and may end, and see whether it shall be any griefe or offence of heart unto thee on that day, that thou hast kept thy selfe in the loue of the truth from the beginnings of defection, the end whereof no flesh can see, and every heart may justly feare that it shall be beyond English Conformity, in so farre as their lukewarmenesse hath been towards the hot, and ours is after it towards the cold. The Lord giue wisedome in all things. Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultlesse before the presence of his glorie, with exceeding joy,

To the onely wise God our Saviour, be glory and majestie, dominion and power, now and ever.

Amen.

The Course of Conformitie

I. As it hath proceeded in times bypast, wherein consider

- 1 The incomparable goodnesse of God at the Reformation.
- 2 The open malice of Satan to set up Idolatrie againe.
- 3 The faithfulnesse of the ministry, maugre all opposition, preserving their
  - 1 Vnitie,
  - 2 Authoritie.
  - 3 Order.
  - 4 Puritie of externall worship.
- 4 The wiles of Sathan, bringing in by degrees
  - 1 For vnitie Division, which
    - 1 Entred at Perth
    - 2 Increased at Dundie.
    - 3 Prevailed at Montrose.
    - 4 Brought forth many Tragedies deplored at
      - 1 Bruntyland.
      - 2 Halyrudhouse
  - 2 For authority Anarchie
    - Begun about the Assembly of Aberdene, and continued sensine.
  - 3 For order Episcopacie by 6 steps.
    - 1 Vote in parliamēt at Perth
    - 2 Perpetuall moderation at Linlithgow.
    - 3 High commission.
    - 4 Power Eccles. at Glasgow.
    - 5 Consecracation brought from England.
    - 6 Ratification in Parliament at Edinburgh.
  - 4 For puritie of externall worship, Antichristian Ceremonies in 5 articles.
    - 1 Motioued at Aberdene.
    - 2 Vrged at Saint-Andrewes.
    - 3 Enacted at Perth
- 5 The diligence of the Defenders by continuall——
  - 1 Preaching.
  - 2 Suplication.
  - 3 Protestation.
  - 4 Information.
  - 5 Reasoning.
  - 6 Admonition.
  - 7 Suffering.

- II. As it is now cōcluded in parliamēt, whereof consider
  - 1. The preparation during the space
    - 1. Of 3 yeares.
      - 1 Let time try and worke.
      - 2 The names of the kings service and conformitie.
      - 3 Rumour that the wise and learned are for it.
      - 4 Vrged in Synods.
      - 5 Inforced by the high Commission.
      - 6 Practised by some, & defended by others, who never yet practised.
      - 7 After many stormes against pastors and professors, a calme for a Parliament.
      - 8 A meeting for supply to the King of Bohemia pretended.
      - 9 A Parliament, which was intended, judged more convenient.
    - 2 Of 2 moneths.
      - 1 The Parliament continued.
      - 2 All dispositions founded.
      - 3 Faire promises made.
      - 4 Great terrours threatned.
      - 5 Simple ones deluded.
      - 6 Great wits tempted to look too.
    - 3 of some dayes before the Parliamēt
      - 1 Privat and publick meetings of the plot-masters.
      - 2 Ministers commanded by open proclamation to leave the Town.
  - 2 The *

- 2 The proceedings
  - The first day.
    1. Diligence used, that no minister enter in the house.
    2. Search made if any had entred, to remoue them.
    3. Orations framed for the purpose.
    4. Lords of the Articles cunningly chosen, and the seven officers of estate joyned to them.
  - 2 the daies following.
    1. The kirk dispossessed of her place.
    2. The toleration at length disputed.
    3. The fiue articles suddenly concluded.
    4. The Lords of Articles set to hauking, hunting, &c. till the way was prepared for voting in publick.
    5. Emissaries for triall of wits and hearts.
    6. Arguments fitted for every disposition.
  - 3 the last day.
    1. Absents made prresent by *Proxeis* wherethrough was made to vote.
    2. Some who had refused commission, to vote notwithstanding.
    3. They who were present made absent
       1. Strangers.
       2. Some who had their licéces passed.
       3. Some against their owne mindes.
    4. The entry of the house kept that no Minister enter.
       1. Some moved to leaue the towne.
       2. Some dealt with not to ride.
       3. Some not to vote who had ridden.
    5. Pithie speeches
       1. exhortatorie.
       2. Apologetick.
       3. Declaratorie.
       4. Promissorie, mixed with terrors.
- 3 The conclusion.
  1. Confusion in voting.
     1. All the Articles hudled up in one.
     2. Negatiue voyces noted for affirmatiue.
     3. The distinction of the three Estates suppressed.
  2. Ratification denied to the negatiue Burroughes.
  3. Gratulation for great successe.
  4. Contradiction from
     1. The Ministers by supplications, protestations, informations, &c.
     2. The hearts of the actors within.
     3. The good people without.
     4. The Heavens aboue.
     5. The judgements sinsyne.

- 1 Three degrees of matters of faith
- 2 Answerably as many degrees of Infidelity,
- III. As it should be refused against 4 Difficulties:
  - 1 Of appearance, that the controverted ceremonies seeme not to bee matters of faith, but indifferent, removed by shewing that ther be
    - 3 Three sorts of things indifferent.
      - 1 Indifferent by comparison made among things
      - 2 In respect of the effects and consequents in this case
      - 3 In their nature & qualitie, where distinguish betwixt a naked action, and an action clothed with circumstances, from divine determination, which is three-fold:
  - 2 Of religious & reasonable pretexts removed by shewing the like for
    - 1 The foulest faults.
    - 2 The greatest Heresies.
    - 3 The grossest Idolatry.
  - 3 of promise, that no more shall be urged,
    - 1 The times giue reply.
    - 2 The mysterie still prevailing.
    - 3 Against
      - 1 The judgement of Prudence,
      - 2 The course of Gods dealing,
      - 3 Satans subtill working.
  - 4 Hard successe upon the Defenders.
    - 1 Dutie is ours, successe is Gods.
    - 2 It may be better then is expected, if we fall not away.
    - 3 More grievous Croceis, and odious aspersions upon the worthiest.

1 Of the foundation, the principles of religion.
2 Vpon the foundation, their necessarie consequents.
3 About the foundation, whatsoever is in Scripture, ceremonies should be of this degree.

1 Ignorance in the first sort
2 Error in the second sort
3 obstinacie in the third sort
} condemneth.

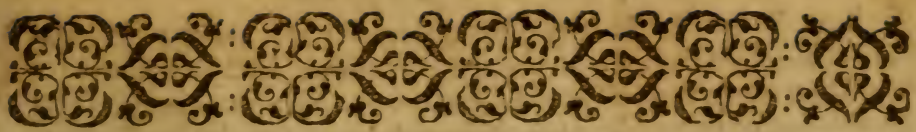
1 Of the same kinde
2 Consisting in our knowledge.
} Thus sitting best.
kneeling worst.
standing, mid-way.

1 Deplored.
2 To the worst and to the weakest evill spirituall,
3 To the best, evill naturall, œconomicall, civill, Ecclesiasticall.

1 Morall and vniversall, removing Indifferencie from the controverted ceremonies, if ye consider
- 1 That circumstances are of the substance of an action.
- 2 That the ten commandements bee not taken literally, as ten words, but largely as the common heads of all morall duties.

2 Ceremoniall and Nationall among the Iewes. Controverted ceremonies cōpared with theirs in 4 periods of time.
- 1 Before the giving of the law.
- 2 Before the death of Christ.
- 3 Before the destruction of the Temple.
- 4 To the end of the world.

3 Evangelicall & christian, where distinguish betwixt
- 1 Divine institutions.
- 2 Ecclesiasticall constitutions to be made.
- 3 Human inventions, such are they.
  - 1 Vpon matters in their nature indifferent, knowne by 2 rules and their 3 consequents, all removing indifferencie from the controverted ceremonies.
  - 2 According to the Apostolick rules transgressed by them.



THE COVRSE OF CONFORMITIE

as it hath proceeded.

Archippus.

I Begin no sooner to think upon the progresse of my short time in the Ministerie, but I remember of the Students of Athens, who the first yeare were wisemen, the second yeare Philosophers, onely lovers of wisedome; the next year Rhetoricians, no better then babblers; and the last yeare Idiots. At the first I seemed somewhat to others, and more then somewhat to my selfe; like many in these times, at whose blind boldnesse, out of mine own experience, I would smile, were it not a subject of compassion. But afterward the Lord in his great mercie, opening my eyes to see, and touching my heart to blush at my owne insufficiencie and naughtinesse, I began to denie my selfe, to unsecret my soule to you: and at the first poured out all my former phantasies and present thoughts into your bosome. At which time my reverend *Epaphras*, I received happie information, in some measure to be that indeed, which I was before in appearance; and manie times since haue I beene with great delight, exercised with you in heavenly contemplations for the furtherance of Gods work: But now my harp, with *Iobs*, is turned to mourning, and my Organ into the voice of thē that weep. Through the iniquitie of the present Polemicall times, I am led aside to Controversies, which are not in the high way to heaven wherin we were walking before: All my former delight is changed into an earnest desire to bee throughly informed concerning the division which hath happened in this our mother Kirk, so renoumed in the Christian world for perfect reformation, through the late alterations wrought at the last Parliament holden at Edinburgh in August 1621, for the ratification of the fiue now famous Articles of Perth Assemblie; Since which time the whole quarters of this Kingdome hath been universally filled with dinn and diversitie of motions and

speeches. Some like *Haman* when the letters of revenge were published against *Mordecai* and his people; some like the Israelites when they sate down to eat and drink and rose up to play; Others like the Iewes themselues when they were in perplexitie & great sorrow: The fourth sort equalling the first in miserie of scene-serving sycophants, who finding the religion before them, and not within them, are readie to serue God or the divel, as the companie will. And finally some so petted and *empacque*, that they suspend both their judgement & practise, till they see which side shall prevaile. As therefore I never went from your societie but either wiser or better, so must I now in my great need, importune you for my comfort and quietnesse of my minde, to giue me some satisfaction in these three particulars, all linked in one chaine. First, out of your old experience; what hath been the methode of this mysterie of iniquitie from our reformation to this time. Secondly, out of your diligent observation, by what meanes, and after what manner past it in an Act in the late Parliament. Thirdly, after conclusion past in Kirk and Parliament, out of your graue direction, what is to be done of us, especially in the case of mans immediate opposition, of the Necessitie of Conformitie or Deprivation: Promising for dutie to follow after you in the straitest waies of passiue obedience, so farre as I finde truth going before you, and leaving the successe with cheerefulnesse, to his high providence, who makes all things work together for good to them that loue him.

Three things demanded concerning conformitie

Epaphras. And no sooner think I upon my long course in the holy Ministerie, begun about the flourishing times of our first temple, but with incredible joy of heart I call to mind the goodnesse of my God, where with in a time of so great defection, I haue escaped the danger of the proverbiall speech of the Hebrews, first uttered of Balaam, who seeking preferment lost the gift of Prophecie; *The Camel seeking hornes, lost his eares.* Had my care beene to haue lift up my horne on high, my gift of Prophecie in publick, and grace of giving good counsell in private, had long since perished: And so by this time I am sure (whatsoever is become of others, vvhom I judge not) I had been troad on as unsavorie salt; a burden to my selfe, and unprofitable to you, and all others of your disposition, who for your invinceable courage are worthie of the oracle of Counsell. And therefore albeit my mediocritie cannot promise full satisfaction, because your demand requires a deep knowledge of things past, present and to come; with the height of the highest spirit, not onely prepared to break the neck of his present fortune, but also overlooking all casualties; & equally armed for all events: And in a word a man that knows much

Camelus cornua quaerens aures amisit. Drus.

Il ne perd rien qui ne perd Dieu.

much of the world and cares little for it: Yet becauſe all that I haue I owe to God and his people, by his grace in whom I am preſerved, & who is able to keep me that I fall not, I ſhall aſſay what I can, with this premonition, that in caſe the hiſtoricall part of my anſwer, concerning things paſt and preſent, ſhall happen to halt in ſome places, and to walk upon one foot, not daring to ſet down the other in the midſt of ſo many thornie purpoſes, wherein all the veritie would not, may not be heard; let a vword now and then, albeit covertly uttered, be enough to your vviſe eare: And let it bee my imputation that, of the twofold commendation of a good hiſtorie, *No trueth unſpoken, no untreuth ſpoken*, Charitie hath made me to bee content with the latter till I come to the third point vvhere I ſhall ſet down both my feet, and vvithout danger of ſo great offence walk with greater libertie.

Trop acheptele miel qui ſur eſpines le leche.

Nihil Verum nov, nihil non Verum.

Archipp. Your mind I perceiue malices no man, and your meaning according to your faſhion of conference, vvhich was ever more materiall then perſonall, is rather to vvard then to giue a blow. My deſire alſo (albeit an hieroglyphicall hiſtorie be halfe dumb) is not ſo much after men as matter; perſons as purpoſes: let me onely know by things paſt from whence vve are come, and by things preſently done and in doing, where we now are, that my courſe in time to come may be the more ſafe and ſound.

παραδειγματα ποιεῖ τὰ παρελθόντα, καὶ τὰ παρόντα τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανερῶς ταχίστην ἰσχει διαγνωσιν.

Epaph. All prefaces are long to the greedie hearer. To beginne then vvith your firſt Demand, the length thereof reaching from the firſt reformation through manifold alterations to the laſt Parliament, ſhall be abridged to a threefold conſideration: Firſt, vvhat Chriſt did for us in the beginning of his undeſerved loue: ſecondly, vvhat Antichriſt did againſt us in his unquenchable malice; and thirdly, vvhat the true members of the Kirk did in their ſincerity and faithfulneſſe.

A threefold conſideration for ſatiſfying of the firſt Demand.

Archipp. That project purctually purſued, vvill delight any true Scots heart to heare, and vvill giue eye to me borne out of time to ſee, as that I had lived then, that vvhich I both feare and loue to knovv. firſt then, vvhat vvas that incomparable loue vouchſafed on us.

Epaph. Our Saviour Chriſt did plant a vineyard in this land, as in a verie fruitfull hill, he hedged it, and gathered out the ſtones of it, and planted it vvith the beſt plants, he built a tovver in the midſt of it, and alſo made a vvine-preſſe therein, and after manie yeares, and divers troubles and travells (according to the truth uttered by a deere ſervant of God vvhen the goſpell firſt began to ſhine among us) the realme vvas illuminated vvith the light of Chriſts Evangell as clearely as ever vvas any realme ſince

The firſt conſideration.

the daies of the Apostles: The house of God was builded in it;yea, it did not lacke (whatsoever the enemie imagine in the contrarie) the verie coapstone: the jurisdiction and libertie of the true Kirk, Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, Sessions and Discipline were brought to their perfection: all lawes of idolatrie abrogate; all presentations of Benefices directed to the particular Presbyteries, with power to put order to all matters Ecclesiasticall within their bounds, according to the discipline of the Kirk. But all this faire and flourishing estate is tyed to it own condition of contrary change; if the people shall be after unthankfull, then fearefull and terrible shall the plagues be.

Hic fuit unitas sine schismate, veritas sine hæresi & bonitas absq; hypocrisi.

Archipp. That truth of the man of God, I must confesse, meeteth us this day in our face, for as the loue hath been great, the people haue proved unthankfull, and the plagues are alreadie begun: The Lord looked for grapes, and behold nothing but wilde grapes; why should he not then lay his vineyard waste, and command the clouds that they raine no more raine upon it: But what secret would you haue me to consider upon the Antichrist his side.

Epaph. Antichrist inflamed with the furious zeale of his cursed Kingdome, and enraged by his inveterate malice against our profession, as a burning light to discover his damnable darkenesse, never ceased to resist the grace of God among us, to his uttermost possibilitie: sending forth, as he might command, the armies of crueltie, his wilde Boares and roaring Lyons, with open mouth and readie pawes to threaten and proclaime their enmitie, as in that bloudie enterprise of the 88, when God shewing his might, no lesse against these mortall enimies, then for the Kirks & Kingdomes of this Iland, redeemed his own people mightily from the teeth of the Dog; and ruined these Vnicornes as mightily in his wrath: But that marvellous overthrow from the heaven aboue, and the waters beneath, conspiring to represse the pride of that tyrant, did no wise moue him to forsake his bloudie purpose, but within few daies thereafter, assaying to practise by craft which hee could not performe by open crueltie, like a sworne enemie to the oath of Alleageance, he treacherously inchanted, and miserably perverted diverse of this Kingdome to negotiate with him and his Emissaries, Iesuites and seminarie Priests, for subversion of this whole state. You may reade and remember the execution of *Fentrie*, the Bridge of Dee, and the unnaturall and treacherous attempt of the 93, &c.

Secondly what Antichrist did.

Archipp. You seeme to me if you would follow forth that discourse in speaking of the times past to point at the present; and to take the treacherie of living men in their persons who are long

since

ſince dead But I reſt content for the preſent with your pointing at that Spaniſh ſpring from whence the ſtreames haue been comming northward this time bypaſt which now overflow this Kirk and Iland: and deſires to know what was done at that time for reſiſting of Antichriſt.

Epiph. The watchmen of the Lords houſe and ſincere profeſſors as they were directed and aſſiſted by grace, reſiſted the violence of open enemies, and diligently ſearched the hid wickednes of lurking vipers, intending to ſting to the death, and after tryall taken of the venomous heads of thoſe Romiſh monſters, who ſpared not to adventure themſelues, their friends and whole eſtate in that foule and unnaturall trick, they proceeded againſt them, and put them under the higheſt cenſure Eccleſiaſticall, and therupon procured their deſerved forefalture. Thirdly, how Antichriſt was reſiſted.

Archip. Thoſe Satanicall ſuppoſts of that Italian Prieſt and Indian Pluto deſerved no leſſe: And now it ſeemeth that the Kirk and the Country are well purged of ſuch Antichriſtian and diſnatured ſpirit.

Epiph. Had the ſucceſſe been anſwerable to the cenſure, the fire had been quenched, and we quit of them and their adulterous generation multiplying in midſt of us to this day: But the general Aſſembly holden at Edinburgh 1594 declareth the contrarie in theſe words of Inſcription. *The dangers which through the impunitie of the excōmunicate Papiſts trafiquers with the Spaniards and other enemies of the Religion & eſtate, are imminent to the true Religion profeſſed within this Kingdom, his Majeſties perſon, crown & libertie of this our native Countrie.* And at more length in Eleven Articles, of which number the firſt is: *It is certaine, that the Spaniard who with ſo great preparations in the 88, did interpriſe the conqueſt of this Ile, remaines as yet of that ſame intention, and waites onely upon a meet occaſion to accompliſh that his devil ſh purpoſe, as cleerely appeares in his continuing in this intertainment of intelligence and traffiquing with the foreſaid excommunicates ever ſince the diſſipation of his Navie.* And the laſt: *Whereas his Majeſtie and Eſtates at the firſt diſcoverie of their conſpiracies apprehended a verie great danger to true Religion, the Kings eſtate and crown, and libertie of the Countrie; and notwithſtanding that the ſame cauſe of danger as yet remaines whole unremoved, their is no apprehenſion of any danger, nor earneſt care to withſtand it, it is evident that their is an inclination and purpoſe to cover, extenuate & bear forth the evil cauſe, whereby they will not ſee; or elſe the Lord in judgement hath blinded and hardned the hearts of all eſtates to grop in the mid day at that which they cānot ſee, which is the greateſt danger of al, & a moſt certain argument of the wrath of God, and his heavie judgement hanging over the land, & ſo much the more to be feared, becauſe there is no cauſe of fear apprehended.*

Archip. But what could either the civill or spirituall sword doe more for the good of the kirk and countrey against their vnnaturall malice.

Epaph. When you tempt me after that sort, ye forget my protestation in the beginning: I will onely shew what the kirk (now holding the wolfe by the eares) resolved to doe, out of the apprehension of so great danger for preventing of ensuing evils, and for purging the realme from open offences ready to draw on higher wrath; They begin carefully to mark the corruptions of every state and calling, earnestly recommending to all vnfaigned and timous repentance: and for that effect publick humiliations were kept, a covenant renewed with God first in the generall Assembly holden at Edinburgh the penult of March 1595, and thereafter in the Provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Sessions for stirring up and moving all more carefully to cleave to their comfortable profession. In great plainnesse and zeale sounded the Pulpits against papistry and their resetters. The Assemblies of the kirk were frequentlie kept, delinquents without respect of persons admonished and censured, Residence of Ministers earnestly vrged, and all men and meanes, as they had grace and place, were set a-work for reformation of abuses, and defence of the kirk against her bloudy enemies.

Archip. The holy courage of the ministerie, and spirituall happinesse of the kirk in that time, puts me in mind of that which is in the Canticle, *Thou art beautifull, O my loue, as Tirza, comely as Ierusalem, terrible as an army with banners.*

Epaph. But while the faithfull servants of God were thus set to cure the wound lately received, and to prosecute the reformation of corruptions; the persons standing under both civill and ecclesiasticall censure of the unnaturall crimes afore named, without shame or feare, yea in great boldnes, durst presume to shew themselves openly within the countrey.

Archip. What could be done in that case of so proud contempt and manifest danger.

Epaph. The messengers of God were set with fresh courage, as became their holy calling and vigilant care to provide new remedies for that so deadly maladie. But as they assayed to cure that disease, a more dangerous sore brake out. A woefull question was moved about the marches of the kirkes Iurisdiction, and certain ministers were pursued before civil Iudges for matters of doctrine. By those and other unhappy occasions, were the ministers of God taken off the pursute of the enemies of religion, & intended course for reforming corruptions, and constrained to bestow their thoughts and endevours in defence of themselves, and libertie of the

the Kirk; but with what ſucceſſe the event will declare.

Archip. That policie hath at all times proved pernitious to the Kirk, and advantagious to the enemie. But my ignorance makes me to marvell more how the kirk having authoritie for her, could be forced to take her to the defenders part: And therefore I pray you make this part ſomewhat plaine.

Epaph. Machiavell will never be plain to a prentiſe in his craft, albeit he were a maiſter in other Arts. In thoſe dayes there fell out a diſcontentment amongſt Stateſmen: the Octavians and the Chalmermen went in factions, according to the cuſtomes of ſuch times. The kirk then being ſomewhat, and the credit thereof not a little reſpected, what could curry favour was ſuggeſted to chiefe miniſters in ſuch meaſure, and by one of them ſo apprehended for extremitie and preſent danger, as he was then in a high place of the miniſterie, and now as high in credit but in a new mould, was not affraied in great boldnes to affirme in a place of chiefe reſpect, as he repeated himſelfe in a publick conference concerning the difficulties then in hand, *That the Kirk got but faire promiſes, and words without effect, and the enemies got the deeds.* It were but ſorrow to remember, and pittifull to repeat the lamentable broyles of October, November, and December of the yeare 1596, each one following another like the heads of Hydra ſtricken off, or the abhominations of Ezechiels Temple, after the ſight of ſome, ſtil moe. By theſe vnexpected hurly-burlies, the vnitie of the faithfull and carefull concurrence for offices due to the neceſſities of religion, was ſtrangely ſhaken; and they by proclamations, the terrible trumpets of authoritie, ſcattered like the ſhips of Tarſhis. Vpon this untimous diſtemper of a body whole in appearance, and well compacted to the eye, but ſecretly racked in ſome principall members, wittie wickednes quickly began to lay the foundation of a curſed Babell, and firſt to divide Hippocrates twins, and then to charge the kirk with ſedition, inſurrection, as Archenemie of common peace, and likely to diſquiet all rankes and perſons, as indeed the remedies againſt enemies of the truth, and reformation of notorious corruptions, if they had been proſecuted, as honeſtie required, and without reſpect of mens perſons, would have made ſome ſort of ſtarre amongſt the maiſters of ſtrange plots. But in few dayes the kirk loſt the ſmiling ſurmiſes of thoſe diſcontented or rather diſſembled factions. Theſe cunning controverſies were quickly compoſed, and they ſet aworke to compaſſe the way of peace for the excommunicats, as did appeare at *Falkland* and *Dumfermeline*: and thereafter in the proceſſe of their relaxation, and many favours ſecretly inſinuated, and openly ſhowen in the forme thereof, and before and after the ſame, not onely by civill men,

but

but also by some provinciall assemblies, and sundry ministers. In this vncouth rite and mysticall form of dealing, the mouth of the Canon was turned from Babylon the mother citie of force and falshood, desperately set to snare the world to her subjection, and the generation of the wise found it was high time, every man inviting another, Come, let vs worke wisely with the kirk, least that they increase and we decrease: for at that time Ierusalem was a strong citie: her Motto then was, *Vnitie strengthens the cause*; her wall was discipline and her assemblies, her sword the sword of the spirit, plaine pertinent and powerfull doctrine: her glory, the favour of God, manifested in her manifold deliverances, florishing estate and still triumphing over her enemies: Then did she constantly hold that such was the crueltie of Rome, that she is the second beast thirsting for the Saints bloud. Vpon their side, *As many as wil not worship the image of the beast, shall be killed.* The firie Fathers of Trent, *All Lutherans, Calvinists, and such as are of the new religion, shall vtterly be rooted out.* Bellarmine the oracle of Rome: *The Catholickes suffer none in their societie that by any outward signe giue evidence of their favour to Lutherans.* And upon our part, it should be a great height of vnthankfulnesse in us freed from the Romane bondage, not to stand out against the present kirk of Rome, but to yeeld our selves to plots of Reconciliation, so long as they cry, What care we for the same creed? *No peace with Rome. &c.*

Pax cum hæreticis esse non potest, bellum ἀστοργόν.

Catholici non patiuntur in suo grege ullos qui ostendunt ullo signo externo se fauere Lutheranis Bell. de Laicis l. 3. c. 19.

Archip. That Italizing craft of Scottish windings, and secret underminings, brings me out of the element of my simplicitie, into an vncouth world of policie, & remembers me of the comparison of Epiphanius, likening an hereticke to a modiwort or brok, working hid under the ground, and making the earth aboue her to swell and to moue: yet I see not how these earthly moles can shake a citie builded upon a rock.

Epaph. To this time the kirk notwithstanding all oppositions externall and intestine, did stand whole and sound in the vnitie of her ministers, authoritie of her assemblies, order of her ministery, and puritie of divine worship. But there was the beginning of her calamitie. The enemies being frustrated in the yeare 88. and not finding after that time how they shall (like Caligula) cut the throat of the whole Kirk and religion at one stroke, they resolue to be still working the maine conclusion by degrees, and to maime her of her members, that in the meane time the Kirk may be still decreasing in beautie and strength, the ministery may be more exercised in their owne defence then in their pursute. At last they or their posteritie may bring the purpose to an end. And it may be, that by some intervening occasion, the work may be made short. Working and waiting will doe the turn in the end.

Archip.

Archip. God hath not plagued us finally with that occasion as we have deserved, and they desire. But we may all see division in the kirk for Vnitie, for Iurisdiction and authoritie vsurpation and tyrannie; for order Episcopacie, and for the puritie and power of worship, polluted and perfunctorious service. Albeit I cannot for my selfe marvell enough upon what side of a citie so compact in it selfe they could make the first assault, and desire to know if, as I perceiue now, that the weed hath growen so in former times, ye did see it to be growing, and by what meanes.

Defection of the kirk in foure essential degrees.

Epaph. Know yee not the max me, *Divide and overcome*: The kirk at that time was so respected for a strong estate, that scarcely durst any without helpe from her owne hand, enterprise her hurt; and therefore her enemies dealt with her Cassander like friends to divide the Ministerie: And for this end a quarrell was professed against the great libertie vsed in application of the doctrine. Item, against divers poynts of discipline: and for remedie of that pretended disease, there was offered to the ministers a bond restraining the power of their office in doctrine, application thereof, and in discipline. And divers ministers vvere called and accused (as multitudes yet living may vvell remember) but that band vvas modestly and happily refused vpon reasons unanswerable for the time, and no cause found in the ministers sufficiently to ground the change intended.

The first degree, Division for Vnitie.

Archip. When that course failed vvhat vvas next assayed?

Epaph. With a better lustre there were penned and printed 65 questions, to be resolved by the estates and generall assembly to be holden at Perth the last Febr. 1596. And vvhat paines vvas taken there by some of a farre other minde now both to direct the ministers in their studies and sermons, and to repell these questions by strong and well prepared answers, their old papers, and their old conscience vvill best record in time and place, as the judge of the world shall think meet.

Begun at Perth.

Archip. I would vnderstand something of the keeping and proceedings of that meeting.

Epaph. Vpon the day appointed at the same Borough, a great number of ministers from all the Presbyteries of this realme (but specially from Aberdene, Murray and Angus) as they vvere required by his Maiesties missiue, did convene, and some two dayes after came a number of the Nobilitie. In that meeting the ministers being as yet all of one minde, refused a mixture of the Nobilitie and Ministerie to make up an Ecclesiasticall or rather confused meeting. But after some dayes spent in secret conference betwixt some Civilians and some of the chiefe Ministers, a course was taken for opening the dore to Division, that shee might as should

be thought meet, weaken vnitie, and make way to the proiects in hand.

Archip. In vvhat particulars vvere the ministers divided at that meeting?

Epaph. In these four especially: first, anent the nature of the meeting, some holding that all generall assemblies vvere either ordinary, or *Pro re nata* consisting of commissioners authorized with commission, and directed from Provinciall assemblies or presbyteries to meet in a certain time and place appointed by the kirk with his Maiesties consent, and having Moderator and Clark according to the institution and custome of the said meeting, vvhich were no vvayes here to be found: Others holding, that in respect of the missiue it vvas lawfull, vvhich alleageance vvas so farre granted as it concerned the libertie of the persons met; but denied to bee a sufficient vvarrant for them to performe the duties proper for a generall assembly. But in the end, it vvas born away vvith strong hand, that it should be called an extraordinary generall assembly. Secondly, about cerain answers given more liberally then advisedly to these 13 articles proponed to that meeting, as a favourable ease of the 55 questions, vvhich of reason should have been seen and considered at length in inferiour assemblies before they had been concluded to be the ground work of such a strange building as now is raised upon thé. Thirdly, an ample cōmission granted in favour of the excommunicats, from the ministery there met, to certain of their own number, as inclined to accept, as they vvere prone to give, notwithstanding of the troublesome condition of that time, and informality of that conuention. And lastly for presuming to alter the order of calling the roll, and marking the votes usually observed all times before.

Archip. By vvhat means could so many vvorthy & vvise men be separat from their brethren, & depart from their own stedfastnes.

Epaph. The meanes are best known to themselues, *hodie seminatum est venenum aspidum in Ecclesia Dei.* I may say of them that vvhich was sayd of flattering *Gregorius* in the beginning of the Roman Hierarchy. That they vvere the vvorst amongst the best, and the best amongst the worst. That the schisme by vvhich many now are called Schismatickes, began at this time on their side: and that they carried away the ignominious victory not by their own valor, but by the modesty of their brethren, & over great reverence vvards them for their courage and good cariage in former times.

Archip. And perhaps it vvould trouble their vvits now to answer speeches and arguments used and vttered by themselues then, no lesse then it would haue busied the braine of the same *Gregorius* raised from the dead to answer his own argument in the dayes of

Bonifacius

Bonifacius the third, *Whosoever will be called vniversall Bishop, is the fore-runner of Antichrist. &c.*

Epaph. Yet *Bellarmine* hath found out two shifts for *Bonifacius*, and they twentie for themselues. But being baited on this beginning, they not onely grew wanton themselves, and ran away vvith the harrowes, but wrought upon others by terrors and promises as they thought to prevaile; and the course once inclining to the dounwith and growing calme, men fell away by heaps: the sweet name of peace being made a visor to cover the ugly face of a strange monster.

Archip. The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water, Prov. 17.14. And you seeme to have sayd that our present inundations did begin at that breach.

Epaph. It was so indeed: for in the next assembly holden at Dundie the water becomes broader, and the schisme begun at Perth, groweth greater: 1. by difference of judgement anent the confirmation of the former assembly holden at Perth: 2. by diversitie of opinions concerning the setting down of some notes in forme of declaration of certaine of the acts concluded at Perth, explaining his Maiesties and the assemblies meaning for the satisfaction of such as then vvere not acquainted therewith, and now to be registred in this assembly at Dundie, to remaine, &c. but like the glosse of Orleans: 3. by indulgence, for duetie, directed in a new commission carying greater favour to the excommunicats & their vassals, their insinuating care of the dangers of the Kirk imminent from a higher cause: 4. from a new forme of commission drawing power from the generall assembly to a few number of persons, and arming them for execution of some of the dangerous articles, rashly yeelded to, as did appeare in diverse attempts. Lastly, about excommunication and other points of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction. And againe the spait of division swelleth to a great height, the flouds encrease and prevaile in the assembly holden at Dundie the 7 of March 1597, 1. by certaine greeves put in Articles by brethren of divers quarters of the countrey; and given in against the the proceedings of the commissioners anent alterations made at Edinburgh and Santandros and forme of casting out and putting in ministers: the vvhich greeves behoved to be buried, otherwise no peace for the Kirke. 2. for the commissioners presumption taking upon them vvithout expresse and particular warrant from the Kirk to treat with the parliament holden at Edinburgh the 19 of December 1597. anent the Kirkes vote in parliament, she standing as yet in doubt if it should be thought leesome that the ministers should succeed in the prelates places for voting in Parliament. 3. About the diversitie of Iudgement anent the con-

1 May 1597. Continued and increasing at Dundie.

conditions of the sayd vote, some holding that the Kirk should be declared the third estate of parliament, and authorized with all lawfull priviledges, and having libertie as Barons and Burgesses have, to choose their own commissioners, others ready to take the same in what sort and vpon vvhat conditions it might bee had. 4. About that woefull commission continued and enlarged vvith a seeming, but sore clause for keeping the Ministers free of offences.

Archip. Your vvaters are like to grow to a sea vvherin the course of navigation looseth the sight of the one pole, and entreth in some degrees of elevation of the other. Beware of shipwrack of religion in the end.

Prevailing at Montrose.

Epaph. The truth is, the division prevailing at Dundie, becommeth a great sea at Montrose, and bringeth in that Trojan horse so pleasantly palliat vvith a faire mantle of fine caveats, and even then greedily gaped for by some, foresmelling their own wealth & honour in that Ecclesiasticall Tragedie, but constantly refused by others foreseeing and fearing more sorrow to the Kirk in the conditions annexed, then apprehending good in a seeming benefit so violently offred. In that generall assembly the 18 day of March 1600, after many combats and braulings about the cautions restraining the commissioners voters in Parliament from corruption frowardly, as it might be, the caveats, the lurking deceit of hierarchie vvere finally set downe.

Archip. These palliative caveats are in form and effect much like the professions set out by *Fœgadius* and *Servatio*, to save the Kirk as they imagined from Arrian perfidie, but in event a furtherance to their blasphemous hæresie and cruell victorie. It vvere better to hold theeves at the doore, then wait upon them in the house that they steale not. I vvould know before I proceed, vvhat miseries followed upon this unhappy division and alteration made in these foure assemblies begun at Dundie, and concluded at Montrose.

Evils ensuing upon the former division.

Epaph. The tongue and pen of another *Nazianzene* vvere not sufficient to deplore and expresse them to the full. In the generall assembly holden at Bruntyland the next yeare 1601 May 12. and at Halyrood-house the yeare following 1602, November 10. these are pointed at: Defection from the puritie, zeale and practise of true religion proceeding from the just vvrath of God for dishonouring of our profession, the negligence of the Ministers against Papists, the desolation of divers parts of the countrey for lack of Pastors, the neglecting of places of chiefest importance to the interest of religion, in not planting them vvith sufficient Pastors: the ouer-hasty admission of men to the ministerie

before

before their sufficiencie be knowne: the negligence of Ministers in reading the Scriptures, and controversies betwixt the reformed Kirk and enemies thereof: the uncomely carriage of Ministers framing themselves excessiuely to the humors of men in communications, intemperance, and light apparrell, the distraction vvhich is supposed to bee from some of the ministerie, and of themselves from themselves, the desolation of the Kirke of Edinburgh, the great favour showne to Papists, and their great credit by that meanes, in negligent education of noble mens children, the impunitie of Saylers transporting and bringing within the countrey Seminarie Priests and Iesuits vvith their coffers and books, that men suspect in religion when they are challenged, haue accesse to court during the time of their processe. That the late reconciled Papists are not urged to performe the conditions agreed to at their reconciliation to the Kirke; All vvhich were either caused or occasioned by the former division.

Epaph. It had been high time vpon these evident dangers and pittifull cryes of the Kirk, to haue repented of the former division, and to haue returned to their brotherly vnitie and Philadelphian profession, *Nec enim vllum maius concordiæ vinculum quam timor externus.*

Epaph. Multi clerici sunt progenies viperarum, Policie did foresee that that happy course vvould not satisfie the burning lust of Hierarchie: and therefore they are so farre from once looking back to brotherly agreement upon equall conditions, that esteeming the fire of division to be the most naturall element for their purpose, they add fresh oyle by labouring to abolish the Iurisdiction of the Kirk, and giving a dead stroake to her chiefe priviledge of holding of generall Assemblies ordinarily once in the yeare, and after *pro re nata*, which is the second essentiall degree of our defection.

Second degree of defection, for Iurisdiction usurpation.

Archip. I haue seen the rent of vnitie, I beseech you to bee as plaine in this poynt, that I may be informed upon what occasion and by what meanes the Kirk was deprived of that awfull power and faire libertie.

Epaph. According to the order usually observed, the Assembly at Halyrood house 1602 appointed the next generall Assembly to bee holden at Aberdene in the yeare 1604 by reason 1 of the insolencie of Papists in the North countrey, 2 a purpose to plant Noblemens houses and chiefe places with sufficient ministers, 3 to prosecute the remedies of defection remembred in the assembly at Bruntyland, 4 that the late reconciled Papists might be urged to performe the conditions agreed to by them.

Assemby at Aberdine.

Lastly, to follow out the common affaires of the Kirk. Notwithstanding these and other intervenient causes that dyet was not kept, but the Assembly continued once & to be continued again: Wherupon the Provinciall Assemblies and Presbyteries considering that the Parliament was approching for which Articles were to be dressed in the Assemblie, according to the order continually obserued since the reformation, that the people were begun to delude the censures of inferiour Assemblies by appellation to the generall, that all the forenamed evils were daily growing greater; and thinking upon the necessitie of that rare benefite so deerly bought, and fearing the losse thereof so many waies apparant, as 1 by abridgement, or deprivation of wonted libertie to convene: 2 by division of the members therof, begun at Perth, and now come to so great height: 3 by terrours and strange imputations against their Ministers, their meetings and assisters: 4 by often changing of appointed dyets, and at some times bringing the Assemblie within the pallace: 5 by a cunning, but woefull commission drawing from the wisest counsell of the Kirk, to certaine Ministers, the credit and guiding of the greatest affaires: 6 by continuations multiplyed as prejudiciall to the Kirk, as Papistrie, profannesse, and other corruptions did sensibly increase, conforme to the order and custome of the Kirk ratified by the lawes of the countrie; they directed their commissioners to meet at Aberdeen the 2 of Iuly 1605 for holding the Generall Assemblie, as was formerly appointed: of these commissioners a certaine number kept and the rest were absent, and so nothing was done but Call and Continue for safetie of the priviledge, by appointing a new Dier, a silly Seminarie, but of many and grievous troubles: the men were first called, and for a long time put in prison, therafter proceeded against by course of law, found guiltie of high treason, returned to their severall prisons, and therafter banished. Since that Assemblie we haue had the name of Generall Assemblies, but no more, according to the maine maxime of policie, that the name bee as little changed as may bee, though the thing bee changed.

Third degree for order Episcopacie, advanced by 6 steps.

Archipp. When unitie and authoritie are now gone, I marvell not that Hierarchie comes the greater speed. But I would know the rest of the waies of that Ambition, and therein see the third step of our defection: For as yet I see it riseth upon the ruines of the Kirk, and proues like the melt in the bodie, as it swelleth and waxeth great the strength and beautie of the bodie decayeth.

First step of Prelacie vote in Parliament.

Epaph. Neither was this Rome builded the first day: The first great step of their blind-winding staires, whereupon they are lifted by all the former engines and preparations was, their vote in Parliament,

Parliament. For upon the former calamities, as wishes before the wind of their great prosperitie, a Parliament was appointed and kept at Perth the first of Iuly 1606, where they having croppen into Bishoprickes, vvithout respect to Calling, Commission or Caveat, were horsed upon the higheſt honours of their Episcopall dignitie. At that beginning they looked somewhat modestly as new come from the schoole of old ministeriall paritie, and as novices in their new world, would haue been glad of the countenance of their old acquaintance: but since that they haue learned to walk in state and soft rayment, as little respecting the greatest seculars as they were regarded of all honest men before: but gay clothes and great places will make Monkies to seem Monsieures, and forgetfull fooles to say, this cannot be I. At that berrie mercat of Kirk livings by that common interchange where havocke beares sway, *Take thou this, and I that*: for the purchase of thirteen dilapidate Bishoprickes forth of the hands of civill men, to the use of civilized Ministers, the Kirk did loose the greatest part of her rent destinate for the service of the Gospell, and *ad pios usus*. And without all feare to follow such sacriledge, *Restitutio ad integrum* was deerly bought what by erections of Ecclesiasticall rents in temporall Lordships, and eversions of Kirk priviledges by Hierarchicall domination.

Archipp. It had been easie to bring them down again from that first step; neither at any time before or since could the opportunitie be greater: before, the working was secret under the ground, and denyed; now the monsters of ambition and avarice set out their heads, aftervvards they became stronger. A shame that the watchmen are now all fast asleep, that all the friends of the Kirk haue dealt treacherously vvith her. A pitie that there be none to speak a word in season for her against her enemies.

Epaph. Soft I pray you, be not so passionate, breath a little, there was no neglect of dutie; for the ministers of the Gospell having commission from their Provinciall Assemblies and Presbyteries to convene there for the vveale of the Kirk, apprehending her hurt, & having neither place nor povver to resist did solemnly and humbly protest in the manner and vvords followving.

Protestation against vote in Parliament.

The earnest desire of our hearts is to be faithfull, and in case We could haue been silent and faithfull at this time, When the undermined estate of Christs Kirk craues a dutie at our hands; We should haue locked up our hearts With patience, and our mouthes With taciturnitie, rather then to haue impeached any With our admonition: But that Which Christ commanded, necessitie urgeth; and dutie Wringeth out of us to be faithfull Office-bearers in the Kirk of God, no man can justly blame us to doe it; providing We hold our selfe within the bounds of that Christian moderation

deration which followeth God, without injurie done to any man, specially those whom God hath lapped up within the skirts of his owne honorable stiles and names, calling them Gods upon earth: Now therefore (my Lords convened in this present Parliament, under the most high and excellent Majestie of our dread Soveraigne) to your Honours is our exhortation, that yee would indevour with all singlenesse of heart, loue and zeale, to advance the building of the house of God; reserving alwayes into the Lord his owne hands that glorie which he will communicate neither with man nor Angell, to wit, to prescribe from his holy mountaine a liuely patterne according to which his own Tabernacle should be formed: remembring alwaies that there is no absolute and unbounded authoritie in this world, except the soveraigne authoritie of Christ the King, to whom it belongeth as properly to rule the Kirk, according to the good pleasure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to saue his Kirk by the merit of his own sufferings. All other authoritie is so intrenched
Heb. 12, 25 *within the marches of divine commandement, that the least overpassing*
28. 29. *of the bounds set by God himselfe, bringeth men under the fearefull expectation of temporall and eternall judgements. For this cause, my Lords, let that authoritie of your meeting in this present Parliament, be like the Ocean sea, which as it is greatest of all other waters, so it conteyneth it selfe better within the coasts and limits appointed by God, then any river of fresh running waters haue done. Next remember that God hath set*
Isa. 49. 23. *you to be Nourish Fathers of his Kirk, craving at your hands that yee should maintaine and advance by your authoritie that Kirk which the Lord hath fashioned by the uncounterfaited work of his own new crea-*
Psa. 100. 1 *tion (as the Prophet speaketh)* he hath made us, and not we our our selues, *but not that he should presume to fashion and shape a new portrature of a Kirke, and a new forme of divine service which God in his word hath not before allowed, because that were to extend your authoritie farther then the calling yee haue of God doth permit. As namely if ye should (as God forbid) authorise the authoritie of the Bishops, and their preheminence aboue their brethren, yee should bring into the Kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing which the experience of preceding ages hath testified to haue been the ground of great idlenes, palpable ignorance, unsufferable pride, pittilesse tyrannie, and shamelesse ambition in the Kirk of God: and finally to haue been the ground of that Antichristian Hierarchie which mounted up on the steps of preheminence of Bishops untill that man of sin came forth as the ripe fruit of man his wisedome, whom God shall consume with the breath of*
2 Thess. 2. 8. *his own mouth. Let the sword of God pearce that belly which brought forth such a monster; and let the staffe of God crush that Egge which hath hatched such a Cocatrice. And let not onely that Romane Antichrist be thrown down from the high bench of his usurped authoritie, but also let all the steps whereby he mounted up to that unlawfull preheminence*

heminence be cut down and utterly abolished in this land. Aboue all things (my Lords) beware to striue against God with an open and displayed banner, by building up againe the walles of Iericho, which the Lord hath not onely cast down, but also hath layd them under a terrible interdiction and execration: so that the building of them againe must needs stand to greater charges to the builders, then the reedifying of Iericho to Hiel *the* Bethelit *in the dayes of* Achab. *For he had nothing but the interdiction of* Iosua, *and the curse pronounced by him to stay him from building again of Iericho. But the Noblemen and States of this Realme haue the reverence of the oath of God made by themselves, & subscribed with their own hands in the confession of faith, called* The Kings Maiesties, *published more then once or twice, and sworn by his most excellent Maiestie, and by his Higness Nobilitie, Estates and whole subiects of the Realme, to hold them back from setting up the dominion of Bishops. Because it is of veritie that they subscribed and swore the sayd commission, containing not onely the maintenance of the true doctrine, but also of the discipline professed within the Realme of Scotland. Consider also that the worke cannot be set forward without the great slander of the Gospell, defamation of many preachers, and evident losse and hurt of the peoples soules committed to our charge. For the people are brought almost to the like case as they were in Syria, Arabia and Ægypt about the 600 yeare of our Lord, when the people were so brangled & shaken with contrary doctrines, some denying and others allowing the opinion of* Eutiches, *that in the end they lost all assured persuasion of true religion; and within short time thereafter, did cast the gates of their hearts open to the diuell to receive that vile and blasphemous Doctrine of Mahomet. Even so the people of the Lord are cast in such admiration to heare the preachers, who so openly damned this stately preheminence of Bishops, then within a few years after accept the same dignitie, pompe and superioritie in their own persons, which they before had damned in others, that the people know not which way to incline, and in end will become so doubtfull in matters of religion and doctrine, that their hearts well be like an open taverne dore patent to every guest that likes to come in. We beseech your honours to ponder this in the ballance of a godly and prudent minde, and suffer not the Gospel to be slandered by the behaviour of a few number of preachers; of whom we are bold to affirme, that, if they goe forward in this defection, not onely abusing and appropriating that name Bishop to themselves onely, which is common to all the Pastors of God his kirk, but also taking upon them-selves such offices that carry with them the ordinary charge of governing the civill affairs of the countrey, neglecting their flockes, and seeking to subordinate their brethren to their iurisdiction. If any of them (we say) be found to step forward in this course of defection, they are more worthy as rotten members to be cut off from the body of Christ, than to haue superioritie and dominion over their brethren within the kirk of God.*

Act. 20. 17 28. Phil. 1. 1. 1. Tim. 3. 1. 2. Tit. 1. 5. 7. 1. Pet. 5. 2. 3.

The prehemminence of Bishops is that Dagon which once alreadie fell before the Ark of God in this land, and no band of yron shall be able to hold him up againe. This is that paterne of that Altar brought from Damascus, but not shewed to Moses in the mountaine, and therefore it shall fare with it as it did with that Altar of Damascus; It came last in the Temple, and went first out. Likewise the institution of Christ was anterior to this prehemminence of Bishops; and shall consist and stand within the house of God, when this new fashion of Altar shall goe to the dore. Remember (my Lords) that in time past your authoritie was for Christ and not against him, yee followed the light of God and strived not against it, and like a child in the mothers hand ye said to Christ, Draw us after thee. *God forbid that yee should now leaue off and fall away from your former reverence borne to Christ, in presuming to lead him whom the Father hath appointed to be a leader of you, and farre lesse to traile the holy Ordinances of Christ by the cords of your authoritie at the heeles of the ordinances of men. And albeit your Honours haue no such intention to doe any thing which may impaire the honour of Christs Kingdome, yet remember that spirituall darkenesse flowing from a verie smal beginning doth so insinuate and thrust it selfe into the house of God, as men can hardly discern by what secret meanes the light is dimm, and dakenesse creeping in got the upper hand, and in end unawares all is involved within a mystie cloud of horrible Apostasie. And least that any should thinke this our admonition out of time, in so farre as it is statute and ordained already by his Majestie, with advise of his estates in Parliament, that all Ministers provided to Prelacies should haue vote in Parliament; As likewise the generall Assembly (his Majestie being present thereat) hath found the same lawfull and expedient, We would humbly and most earnestly beseech all such to consider, first that the Kingdome of Iesus Christ, the Officebearers and Lawes thereof neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution or alteration, besides the prescript of his holy word, by any inventions or doings of men, Civill or Ecclesiasticall. And we are able by the grace of God, and will offer our selues to proue, that this Bishoprie to be erected is against the word of God, the ancient fathers and Canons of the Kirk, the moderne most learned and godly Divines, the doctrine and constitution of the Kirk of Scotland since the first reformation of Religion within the same countrie, the Lawes of the realme ratifying the governement of the Kirk by the generall and Provincill Assemblies, Prestyteries and Sessions; also against the weale and honour of the Kings most excellent Majestie, the weale and honour of the Realme and quietnesse thereof, the stablished estate and weale of the Kirk in the doctrine, discipline and patrimonie thereof; the weale and honour of your Lordships, the most ancient estate of this Realme; and finally against the weale of all, and verie one of the good subjects thereof in soule, bodie and substance.*

Next,

Next, that the Act of Parliament granting vote in Parliament to Ministers is with a speciall provision that nothing thereby bee derogatorie or prejudiciall to the present established discipline of the Kirk and jurisdiction thereof in Generall and Synodall Assemblies, Presbyteries and Sessions. Thirdly and last, the generall Assemblie (the Kings Majestie sitting, voting, and consenting therein) fearing the corruption of that office hath subscribed and bounded the same with a number of Cautions. All which together, with such other as shall be concluded upon by the Assembly, were thought expedient to be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament, that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in Parliament, as most necessarie and substantiall parts of the same. And the said Assembly hath not agreed to giue thereunto the name of Bishops, for feare of importing the old corruption, pompe and tyrannie of Popall Bishops, but ordained them to be called Commissioners for the Kirk to vote in Parliament. And it is of veritie that according to those Cautions, neither haue those men now called Bishops, entred to that office of Commissioners to vote in Parliament, neither since their engaging haue they behaved themselues therin. And therefore in the name of the Lord Iesus Christ who shall hold that great Court of Parliament to judge both the quicke and the dead at his glorious manifestation, and in name of his Kirk in generall, so happily and well established within this Realme, and whereof the said Realme hath reaped the comfortable fruit of peace and unitie, free from heresie, schisme and dissention these 46 yeares bypast; also in name of our Presbyteries, from which we haue our cōmission, and in our own name, officebearers & Pastors within the same; for discharging of our necessarie dutie, and disburdening of our consciences in particular, We except and protest against the said Bishopric and Bishops, and the erection, confirmation or ratification thereof at this present Parliament: Most humbly craving that this our Protestation may be admitted by your Honours, and registred among the Acts and Statutes of the same, in case (as God forbid) these Bishoprikes bee erected, ratified or confirmed therein.

Archip. I blesse the Lord for the demonstration of his power in the libertie of his servants, and thinkes the course should haue halted there, if the protestation had been made good by reasons. But they ever object unto you froward affections, and great zeale, with small knowledge and little actions; strong protestations and conclusions upon weak probations, and feeble premisses.

Epaph. A Disputation is one thing and Protestation is another: They had no place thē, nor I pupose now to reason the matter; yet for stopping your mouth, & the mind of the adversarie, I shal giue you a view of the reasons that were at that time penned against that first step of Prelacie, according to the heads & order proponed in

Reasons of the Protestation.

in the protestation, wherein ye will perhaps behold a copie of the plaine, pertinent and pithie simplicitie of the Ministers of that time: and how new wits with their quiddities, are as far degenerate in knowledge as in affection.

Chap. I.

That the Office of this new sort of Bishops is against the the word of God.

Argum. I.

THat the Ministers of God, separate from the common affaires of the world, sanctified and consecrated to the service of God and salvation of his people, should haue a publick office and charge in the Common-wealth and worldly affaires is flat repugnant to the word of God, and particular places of Scripture following, Numb. c.3 v 44 45, *And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, take the Levites for all the first borne of the children of Israel, and the Levits shall be mine, I am the Lord.* Numb.c.18.v.6. *For loe I haue taken the Levites from among the children of Israel, Who as a gift are given to the Lord to doe the service of the congregation and tabernacle thereof.* Deut.18 12. *The Priests and the Levits shall haue no part nor inheritance With Israel, for the Lord is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them.* Deut. 10 8. *The same time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi to beare the Arke of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him and to blesse in his name unto this day.* Act. 13 2. *Now as they ministred unto the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul for the Work Whereunto I haue called them.* Rom.1 v. 1. *Paul a servant of Iesus Christ put apart or separat to preach the Gospell of God.* These and many more places of Scripture proues the proposition. Then to assume: But so it is, these Bishops are ministers of God by their profession, are counsellers in the Common-wealth, Lords in Parliament and conventions of the estates, Lords of Townes, Barones of Lands &c. They run to Court leaving their Ministerie, to get Bishopricks which they haue obtained with all priviledges of the old Bishoprickes which they pride them in, publicklie in the sight of all, and presence of the greatest: Therefore all against the word of God.

Argum. II.

That the Ministers of Christ should be distracted from preaching of the word and doctrine, is direct against the Scripture, name-

namely these places. Deut. 33 8. *And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Vrim be with thy holy one, whom thou didst proue in Massah, and did cause him to striue at the waters of Meribah: Who said unto his father and unto his mother, I haue not seen him, neither knew he his brethren nor his own children, for they observed thy word and kept thy covenant. They shall teach Iacob thy judgements and Israel thy Law: they shall put incense before thy face, and the burnt-offrings on thine Altar.* Luk. 9 59. *Christ said to one, follow me, Who answered, suffer me first to goe and burie my father: Christ answered, Let the dead burie the dead, and goe you and preach the Gospell of the Kingdome of God. Another sayes, Maister I would follow thee, but let me first goe and take order with my house, Christ answered, no man that puts his hand to the plough and lookes back, is meet for the Kingdome of God.* Act 6 2 *Then the twelue called the multitude of the Disciples together, and said, It is not meet that wee should leaue the word of God to serue the tables.* Now the Arguments from these places concludes most strongly, *à comparatis*. For if most necessarie naturall œconomick, yea even Ecclesiasticall offices, as of Eldership and Deaconship should not distract from the preaching of the word such as hath the gift and calling therto, much lesse should civill and worldly offices and affaires. But yet to insist with strait command and charge and most weightie exhortation and attestation out of the word Ioh. 21 15 16 17. *So when they had dined, Iesus said to Simon Peter, Simon son of Iona lovest thou me more then these? he said unto him, yea Lord thou knowest that I loue thee; he said unto him feed my Lambes: he said unto him the second time, Simon the sonne of Iona lovest thou me? he said nnto him, yea Lord thou knowest that I loue thee, hee said unto him feed my sheep. Hee said unto him the third time, Simon lovest thou me? Peter was sorie because he said unto him the third time lovest thou me? he said unto him, yea Lord thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I loue thee, Iesus said unto him feed my sheep.* 1 Tim. 3 16 *Take care of these things till I come, giue attendance to reading, exhortation and doctrine, these things exercise, and giue thy selfe unto them, that it may be seene what thou profites among all men: Take heed to thy selfe and to doctrine, continue therein, for in doing this thou shalt both safe thy selfe and them that heare thee,* Again *I charge thee therfore before God and before the Lord Iesus Christ who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, preach the word, be instant in season and out of season, improue, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. Watch, in all things suffer afflicti-on, doe the work of an Euangelist, make thy ministery fully perswaded, viz. to be a faithfull and good Minister to all.* If then the loue of Iesus Christ be in the hearts of Ministers, if the care, attendance & whole occupation and exercise of them ought to be in reading

exhortation and doctrine for the saving of themselves and others: if they should preach the word, improue, rebuke, exhort in season and out of season, and make all times seasonable therfore: and no time rightly spent without that. And finally, if they think to stand before that great iudge in that fearfull day of his appearance in glorious and terrible maiestie, as such as haue fully approven that ministerie, to their owne conscience, and the conscience of others in the sight of God: let them see how they may be distracted with civill offices and affaires: and if so to bee, bee not directly against the word of God; seeing they should be singers and chiefe fathers of the Levits in the chambers of the Lords house, having no other charge but to be occupied in that businesse day and night, 1. Chron.9.33.

Argum. III.

To make and esteeme the charge of soules so light, that therewithall another office and charge civill, publick and worldly, may be ioyned and borne, is direct against the word of God, and particular parts thereof subsequent. But so doe the Bishops, Ezech.34. 1. *And the Word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, prophesie against the Pastors of Israel, and say unto them, Thus sayth the Lord God, Woe be to the Pastors that feed themselves, yee eat the fat and cloath you with the Wooll, but yee feed not the flocke, the Weak haue ye not strengthened, the sick haue yee not healed, neither haue yee bound up the broken, nor brought again that Which was driven away, neither haue yee sought that Which Was lost, &c. The flocke Were scattered Without a shepheard, and the sheepe Wandred. Zach. 11. 17. O idle shepheard that leaves the flocke, the sword shall be upon his arme and upon his right eye: his arme shall be cleane dryed up, and his right eye shal be utterly darkned.* Act.20.20. *I haue kept nothing back that Was profitable, but haue shewed and taught you openly, and throughout every house. I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. Take heed vnto your selves, and to all the flock Whereof the holy Ghost hath made you overseers, or Bishops to feed the Kirk of God, Which hee hath purchased With his own blood. Watch and remember that by the space of three years I ceased not to Warne every one both night and day With teares.* 1. Pet.5. 2.8. *Feed the flock of God, caring for it With a ready minde. Be sober and Watch, for your adversarie the Divell goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking Whom he may devoure.* 2. Cor.2.15. *For Wee are unto God the sweet savour of Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish, to the one We are the savour of death unto death, and to the other a savour of life unto life. And Who is sufficient for these things? For Wee are not as many, Who make merchandise of the word of God, but as of sincerritie, but as of God in the sight of God speake Wee in Christ.* Heb.13.17.

Obey

Obey your guides and bee subject unto them, for they watch over your soules, as such as should give an account of them. Wee may then boldly of these Scriptures, and many moe, evidently shew and conclude, that they never knew what the charge of soules meant, that would joyne therewith a publique and politique office and charge; or if they knew it, they never weighed and felt it: they are strangely blinded, benumbed, and miscarryed by Balaams wages.

Argum. IIII.

The mixing, jumbling, and confounding of iurisdictions and callings in one person which God hath distinguished in persons & manner of handling, is against his word. But so it is, that the office of Bishoprie confounds the spirituall and civill iurisdictions and callings in the person of one. Ergo. Numb. 18. vers. 4. 5. *Yee shall keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation for all the service of the tabernacle, and no stranger shall come neere unto you, the stranger that comes neere shall bee slaine.* The ministers then of Gods service, and the civill rulers are strangers one to another, and should not bee confounded under paine of death. 2. Chron. 19. 11. *Behold Amariah the Priest shall be chiefe over you in all the matters of the Lord, and Zebadiah the son of Ismael a ruler of the house of Iudah, shall be for all the Kings affaires.* Deut. 22. 9. *Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers sorts of seeds, least thou defile the increase of thy seed, which thou hast sowen, and the fruit of thy vineyard: Thou shalt not plow with an Oxe and an Asse together, thou shalt not weare a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linnen together.* Doth God play the Gardiner, Ploughman or Webster here, or is not this a ceremoniall command to eschew all mixture and confusion in the Lords vineyard, field and shop, which is his Kirk and people. This also the Apostle (1. Corinth. chap. 9.) teacheth us, citing that Ceremoniall command, *Thou shalt not muzzell the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corne*, for the provision of the Ministers of the kirk with things temporall. And finally, our master in the Gospell distinguisheth expresly, betwixt the things pertaining to God and to Cæsar, saying, *Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsars, and to God that which is Gods.*

Argum. V.

That the Officers of Christs Kingdome should meddle with things not pertaining to the kingdom of Christ, is ἀλλοτριεπισκοπία to bee busie bodies in matters impertinent to them against the

Scripture

Scripture. But civill and worldly offices and matters pertain not to the kingdome of Christ, and yet are medled with by these Bishops, therefore against the Scripture, Iohn. 6. 18. *Iesus then knoing that they were come to take him and make him their king, hee withdrew himselfe into the mountaine alone.* Ioh.18.36. *Iesus answered and sayd unto Pilat, My kingdome is not of this world.* Remembring the vvhich confessions, that Christ was a king, but his kingdome vvas not of this vvorld, the Apostle *Paul* gives a charge unto *Timothie, I charge thee*, sayth he, *in the sight of God who quickens all things, and before Iesus Christ, who under Pontius Pilat witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandement*, meaning anent the whole discipline and ruling of the whole kingdome of Iesus Christ, that is not of this vvorld, set down by the Apostle in that Epistle, 1.Tim. 6.13. Ioh.8.11. *Iesus sayd to the adultresse, neither doe I iudge thee, goe and sin no more.* Luk.12.13.14. *And one of the multitude sayd vnto him, Master speak to my brother that he may divide the heritage with me, be sayd unto him, O man, who made me a judge over you?* The civill and worldly offices then haue nothing to doe with the kingdome of Christ in their persons, and are such as neither Christ nor his Apostles ever took on, or vvould take upon them.

Argum. VI.

That Christs ministers should beare worldly preheminence, bruik ambitious stiles, and be called gracious Lords, is against the word of God, and speciall scripture vnderwritten. But the office of Bishoprick brings in all these wherin they pride themselues against the scriptures. Mat.23.6. *The Scribes and Pharisees love the first rooms at feasts, and the chiefest rooms in the Synagogues, and salutations in the Markets, and be called Rabbi: But be ye not called Rabbi, for yee haue one master, and ye are all brethren. Let him that is great among you, be a servant: for whosoever will lift himselfe up, shall be casten downe, and he that will humble himselfe shall bee exalted.* Luk.22.15. *There entred a contention among them, who should be greatest; But he sayd vnto them, The Kings of the Nations beare rule over them, and are called gracious Lords, but ye shall not be so, but he that is greatest among you let him be as the least, and he that is the guide as the servant.* And in very deed, experience proves that these ambitious stiles vvherewith they are honoured by Heraulds, flattered by a great number, and scorned by farr moe, makes them (as the Apostle speakes of vvidowes) to grow vvanton against Christ, miskenning him, them selues, and their calling, to despise their equals, and to presume over their superiours.

Argum.

Argum. VII.

That the Souldier of Christ should be involved in the affaires of this life, and one bound to serve two maisters, is flat repugnant to the word of God. But this office of Bishoprick involveth them, &c. Ergo. Numb. 4. 3. *From thirtie yeare old and aboue, all that are meet to take on this warfare to doe the work in the tabernacle of the congregation.* 2.Tim.2.3.4 *Thou therefore suffer affliction as a good souldier of Iesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a souldier.* It is evident by all these Scriptures, and a number moe which may be brought forth, that the office of these Bishops is repugnant and direct against the word of God. As for Episcopall corruptions in vsurping authoritie aboue the Pastors of the Kirk, & arrogating to them the governmẽt of the kirk, which appertains to the common care and counsell of the Elders in Assemblies and Presbyteries by the vword of God, because they dare not defend, I insist not to lay it out plainly, but think it enough for the present, to quot these places of Scripture and Fathers following, till we heare it brought in question. 1. Tim.4. 1.Tim.3.1. Tit. 1. Act.20. 1 Cor.12. 1.Tim.5. Rom.12. 1.Cor.5. 1.Thess.5. Heb. 13. Math.5. & 18. Act.15. & 21. Math. 16. Ephes.4. 1. Pet.5. Math.23. Luk. 22. Phil. 1. Ioh.20. Act. 14. 23. Tertul. Apologet. 39. Hieron. l. 2. c. 3. Origenes Hom. 7. in Iosuam. Irenæus ad Victor. Cypr. lib. 2. Epist. & lib. 6. Epist. & 9. Ambros. serm. 11. Epiphanius contra hæreses heres. 75. August. de cor. & gratia c. 5. Euseb de vita Constantin, l. 3. Prosper. de vitand. corrup. l. 10. cap. Chrysost. de sacerdotio, &c.

Chap. II.

That such a Bishoprie is against the ancient Canons of Kirk, and Councels.

THAT the Pastors and Bishops of the Kirk should set themselves to politicke administration, and court affairs, and bee occupied in secular and worldly matters, leaving their flocks and follow the puffed vp pomp and glory of the world, is against the ancient Canons of the Kirk, namely these following, which as epitomes of many other to the like effect, we are content with for the present. Amongst these most ancient Canons, called the Apost. the 80 Canon is, *Decimus, quod non oportet Episcopum aut Presbyterum politicis se administrationibus, immiscere*

immiscere, sed vacare & commodū se exhibere usibus Ecclesiasticis; animū igitur inducito hoc non facere aut deponito, Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire. Synod. Nicæna. & Constant. *Nemo clericus vel Diaconus vel Presbyter propter causam suam quam libet intret in curiam, quoniam omnis curia à cruore dicta est; Et si quis clericus in curiam introeat anathema suscipiat nunquam rediens ad matrem Ecclesiam.* Synod. Chalcedon. œcumenica confes. 15 *Ne Episcopi aut Clerici rebus se politicis implicent aut prædia aliena conducant.* Sexta Synod. univers. Constant. Can.8. *Episcopis non competit Ecclesiastica aut politica eminentia, Episcopus aut Presbyter militiæ vacans, & volens vtrumque principatum humanum, & sacerdotalem dignitatem, deponitor. Nam quæ Cæsaris sunt Cæsari, & quæ Dei Deo danda.* Ex Epist. Concilii Africani ad Papam Cælestinum. *Ne fumosum typhum seculi in Ecclesiam Christi quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis videre cupientibus aufert videamur inducere.* Synod. Macrensis. *Ne rex Pontificis dignitatem, ne Pontifex regiam potestatem sibi usurpare præsumat, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque à Deo distinguuntur ut & Christiani reges pro æterna vita pontificibus inclinarent & Pontifices pro temporalium rerum cursu regum dispositionibus uterentur, quatenus spiritualis actio à carnalibus distaret in cursibus, & ideo militans Domino minime se negotiis sæcularibus implicaret, ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur.* Synod. 4. Carthaginensis, *Vt Episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed ut lectioni & orationi & verbi tantummodo prædicationi vacet.* Synod. Romana. *Vniversis clericis interdicimus, ne quis prætextu Ecclesiasticæ libertatis suam de cætero jurisdictionem extendat in prejudicium justitiæ sæcularis, ut quæ sunt Cæsaris reddantur Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo.* In the end and conclusion of this point, we would beseech our brethren, who hunts for these Bishoprickes, and pretends much for them Antiquitie, to weigh the words of *Damasus*, one of the old Bishops of the uncorrupt Kirk of Rome, approved in the Councell of Neocæsarea and Antiochia in anno 371. Damasus & concilium Neocæs. & Antioch. anno 371. *Episcopi qui sæcularibus intenti curis greges corepiscopis vel vicariis commendant, videntur mihi meretricibus similes quæ statim ut pariunt infantes suos aliis meretricibus tradunt educandos quo suam citius libidinem explere valeant. Sic & isti infantes suos .i. populos sibi commissos aliis educandos tradunt ut suas libidines expleant .i. pro suo libitu sæcularibus curis inhient & quod unicuique visū fuerit liberius agant. Pro talibus enim animæ negliguntur, morbi crescunt, hæreses & schismata prodeunt, destruuntur Ecclesiæ, sacerdotes vitiantur & reliqua mala proveniunt: non taliter Dominus docuit, nec Apostoli instituerunt, sed ipsi qui curam suscipiunt ipsi peragant & ipsi propros manipulos Domino repræsentent. Nam ipse ovem perditam diligenter*

genter quæsivit ipse propriis humeris reportavit, nesque idipsum facere perdocuit. Si ipse pro ovibus tantam curam habuit, quid nos miseri dicturi sumus qui pro ovibus nobis commissis curam impendere negligimus, & aliis eas educandas tradimus. Audiant quæso quid beatus Iacob dixerit socero suo, viginti annos fui tecum, oves tuæ & capræ steriles non fuerunt, arietes gregis tui non comedi nec captum à bestia ostendi tibi: ego damnum omne reddebam; & quicquid furto perierat à me exigebas; die noctuque æstu vigebar & gelu, fugiebat somnus ab oculis meis; Si ergo sic laborat & vigilat qui pascit oves Laban, quanto labori quanisque vigiliis debet intendere qui pascit oves Dei. Sed in his omnibus nos instruat qui dedit pro ovibus suis animam. Let these Bishops then in time bite upon this, who for one preaching made to the people rides fortie postes to Court: for a daies attending on the flocke spends monthes in Court, Councell, Parliament and Conventions; And for a thought or word bestowed for the weale of any soule, cares a hundreth for their apparell, their trayns, fleshly pleasure and gowkit gloriositie: Or they shall be bitten eternally with that worme that never dies, when Christ shall come and call them to account of their dispensation.

Chap. III.

That such a Bishoprie is against the doctrine of the fathers and Doctors of the Kirk ancient and moderne.

THeir bookes are full of this matter consonant to the holy Scripture, and ancient Councels and Canons of the Kirk; onely therefore a few testimonies for examples sake. Tertul. de Idololatria cap. 18. *Si potestatem nullam ne in suos quidem exercuit Christus, quibus sordido ministerio functus est, si regem se fieri conscius sui regni, refugit, planissime dedit formam suis de reiiciendo omni fastigio & suggestu tam dignitatis quam potestatis, quis enim magis his usus fuisset quam Dei filius? quales enim fasces eum producerent, quale aurum de capite radiaret nisi gloriam sæculi alienam & sibi & suis indicasset.* Cyril. in Ioan. l. 3 c. 20. *Honor & gloria mundi fugienda sunt eis qui volunt gloriam dei consequi.* Ambros. in 2 Tim. 2. *Ecclesiasticus idcirco Deo se probet ut hinc devotus officium impleat quod spopondit in Dei rebus solicitus à sæculari negotio alienus. Non enim convenit unum duplicem habere professionem.* Bernard. de consideratione ad Eugenium Papam l. 2. c. 4. *Apostolis inter dicitur dominatus! ergo tu usurpare aude, aut dominus Apostolatum, aut Apostolus dominatum, Si utrumque simul habere voles peraes utrumque.* Idem, *non monstrabunt, ubi quisquam Apostolorum aliquando judex sederit hominum aut*

divisor terminorum aut distributor terrarum : stetisse denique Apostolos judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego. But to saue the strip of this little Treatise, out of the great Ocean of the ancients, leaving *Gregorius Nazianzenus, Basilius* and *Epiphanius* of the Greek, and *Hieronymus* with *Augustine* chiefe of the Latines, I will conclude with *Gregorius* the great Bishop of Rome, who at the first entrie of the Hierarchie in the Kirk, and of the tyrannie of the Antichrist, termes *John* of Constantinople his forerunner, because that hee usurped presumptuousliie aboue the rest, taking to him the stile of universall Bishop. Gregorius ad Theotistam sororem Imperatoris, de onere curæ pastoralis li. 8. Epist. 5. *Miror quod in me collatas dudum continentias vestras ex hac moderna pastoralis officii continentia distraxistis, in qua sub colore Episcopatus ad sæculum sum reductus, in qua tantis terræ curis inservio quantis me in vita Laica ne quaquam deseruiisse reminiscor, alta enim quietis meæ gaudia perdidi, & intus corruens ascendisse exterius videor. Nam quis inter tot terrenas curas valeat de miraculo prædicare, quum jam mihi difficile sit saltem recolere, pressus enim in hoc honore tumultu sæcularium negotiorum ex iis mihi esse videor de quibus est scriptum, dejecisti eos dum allevarentur. Neque enim dixit, dejecisti eos postquam allevati sunt sed dum allevarentur, quia pravi quique cum temporali honore suffulti foris videntur surgere intus cadunt. Allevatio ergo ipsa ruina est, ut quia dum gloria falsa subnixi sunt, à gloria vera evacuantur, hinc iterum dicit, deficientes ut fumus deficerent, fumus quippe ascendendo deficit & sese dilatando evanescit, hinc rursum scriptum est, Deus mi pone illos in rotam, rota quippe ex posteriori parte tollitur & anterioribus cadit, posteriora autem sunt nobis bona præsentis mundi quæ relinquimus, anteriora vero sunt æterna & permanentia ad quæ vocamur Paulo attestante, qui ait, quæ retro sunt oblitus in ea quæ sunt priora me extendens, mihi hæc difficilia sunt quia & valde onerosa, & quod mens sponte non recipit congruè non disponit, Ecce serenissimus Dominus imperator fieri simiam Leonem jussit & quidem provisione illius vocari Leo potest, fieri autem Leo non potest.* So I end the testimonies of the Ancients with this saying of *Cyprian*, which I would we should straitly hold, and accurately defend &c. Cyprianus l. 1. epist. 8. *Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est quodcunque humano furore instituitur ut dispositio Divina violetur.* Now we shall subjoine a few of the most godly learned and approved writers of the most cleare and lightsome age of the Gospell, because there are so many just and full treatises hereanent. Ioh. Calvinus in epist. 2 ad Timoth. 2. *Semper Pastorem meminisse oportet veteris proverbii, hoc age, quod significat serio incumbendum esse peragendis sacris, ut studium ejus & intentionem nihil aliud impediat.* Pet. Martyr in Loc.

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com. class 4 c.13. *Distingui oportet has functiones civilem & Ecclesiasticā, quia vtraque earum seorsum totum hominem requirit, immo vix vllus unquam repertus est, qui alterutram recte obire posset, adeo est difficilis vtraque provincia.* Theod. Bez. Ep. 79. *Sed & istud (mi Knoxe) te cæterosq; fratres velim meminisse quod jam oculis pene ipsis obversatur: sic ut Episcopi papatū pepererunt, ita Pseudoepiscopos (papatus reliquias) epicureismum terris invecturos; hanc pestem caveant, qui salvā Ecclesiam cupiunt. Et cum illam in Scotia in tempore profligavis, ne quæso illam unquam admittas, quantumvis vnitatis retinendæ specie, quæ veteres etiam optimos fefellit, blandiatur.* And of this opinion clearly & fully are the French and Helvetian Writers & Kirks. As for the Germanes, ye shal hear their judgements shortly out of one of their most godly and learned writers. David Chytræus in Mat. 18. *Non est autem regni Christi politia sicut regnum mundanum quod constituitur & sustinetur gradibus personarum, potentia, authoritate ferendarum legum, armis & præsidijs distinctis, pœnis corporalibus, iudicijs, ordinaria successione, &c. sed est spirituale regnum, in quo non est visibile caput vni loco alligatum & ordinaria successione constitutum, ad quod tota Ecclesia alligata sit, sed vnum Ecclesiæ caput est Christus. Deinde etiamsi in Ecclesia sunt gradus personarum & donorum &c. tamen quod ad potentiam politicam imperandi, ferendi leges, cogendi, &c. attinet, omnes inter se sunt æquales & quidem arithmetica æqualitate, nec inter Episcopos quod ad dominum & potestatem attinet, quisquam alio maior est jure divino, ut Luc. 22. Reges gentium dominantur ijs, vos autem non sic. Verus igitur & solus gubernator Ecclesiæ est ipse Christus sive verbum Dei: hoc solo verbo regit Christus Ecclesiam non gradibus & potentia personarum. Ex hoc loco* Math. 18. *intelligi potest quomodo regia Pontificum & Episcoporum dominatio cum Evangelio congruat.*

Chap. IIII.

That such a Bishoprie is against the doctrine of the Kirk of Scotland preached these 46 yeares.

THE doctrine that the Preachers of Scotland haue been teaching so many yeares since the first reformation, yea since the first light of the Gospell brake forth in this realme, was dirrected against all corruptions and abuses of the Roman Antichrist, and adulterous kirk of Rome. But so it is that the Bishoprie is one of the greatest errours and corruptions thereof, and have no arguments of Scripture, Fathers, Councells nor reason, but the selfe same that the Papists use. For probation whereof read Bellarmine the Archlesuit, *quæst. de capite ecclesiæ & de membris*, and conferre his

arguments for the Pope and his Hierarchie, vvith Doctor Whitgifts against M. Cartwright, and siclike the rest that write on that head. Secondly, let the auditors yet living of these notable Preachers of the Kirk of Scotland, glorifie God in this matter, and cease not as they love the honour of Christ, ad vveale of his kirk, so long as they are able to speak, to give an evident and full testimonie, what they haue heard of *M. Knoxe, M. Craig, M. Willockes, M Goodman, M. Lewson, M. Row, M. Ferguisone, M. Arbuthnet, M Rollock, M. Durie, M. Daviesone, M Pont*, and others most godly, sincere, and learned men, who all ioyned with their continuall powerfull doctrine from Pulpit, their travels; yea and sufferings, in dinging against that Popish corruption of Bishops, till it was all utterly purged and expelled forth of the kirk. and who now resting from their labours, yea triumphing in the heavens, haue left the true discipline and government of the kirk and kingdome of Iesus Christ, well and firmly established and setled within our Kirk; the comfortable effect whereof hath been viuely and sincerely enioyed unto these late dayes. And praised be the name of our God and Christ, there wants not yet successors both to their place and doctrine, able both by preaching and penning to maintaine, yea by his grace not onely by imprisonment, povertie, contempt and traducing of the world, but by their blood to seale up the truth of the same And last, the very mouthes of these now named Bishops, haue been seen and heard preach and professe this veritie; yet dare they preach or professe otherwise under pain of Apostasie? Howbeit now craftily holding both court and kirk in hand, they are like so to proceed, that the part of *Demas* will plainly kythe in the Kirk.

Chap. V.

That this Bishoprie is against the confession of faith called the Kings Maiesties confession, sworne and subscrived at two aivers times, viz. in anno 1581 when it was first published; and againe anno 1590. published with a general band for the maintenance of true religion, and his Maiesties estate and person; by his Maiestie, his Queen and houshold, and all estates of the Realme. &c.

THE words of that confession for this purpose are these: *We abhorre and detest all contrary religion and doctrine, chiefly all kind of Papistrie in generall and particular, even as they are now damned*

and

and confuted by the word of God and kirk of Scotland; and in speciall, the Popes worldly monarchy and wicked Hierarchie, his crossing, annointing, &c. And finally, we detest all his vain rites, signes and traditions, brought into the kirk without or against the word of God and doctrine of this true reformed kirk, to the which we ioyne our selves willingly in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as liuely members of the same in Christ our head: Promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the dayes of our lives, vnder the paines contained in the Law, and danger both of body and soule in the day of Gods fearfull judgements. And after a few lines, *Wee therefore willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisie and of double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest, and call the searcher of all hearts to witnesse, that our minds and hearts doe fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath and subscription: So that we are not moved for any worldly respect, but are perswaded onely in our consciences, through the knowledge and loue of Gods true Religion, printed in our hearts by the holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall bee disclosed.* Then if so be that the setting up of Bishops will throw down the discipline of our Kirk, or if that office hath any thing to do with these corruptions of Papistrie & Antichristian hierarchy: The King our Soveraigne, his most excellent and Christian Majestie, and his Highnesse most ancient, religious & noble Estates of Parlament, if there were no other reason but this one, would not for all the world fall under the danger of so horrible a perjurie against God to set up Bishops again; yea, and if it were no more but respect of civil honesty, honor & estimation before the world, they would not be inferiour to *Herod* in releiving the religion of an oath and great name of God interponed; namely this Confession of faith being put in print twise within the realme by speciall command and priviledge, & translated in all vulgar languages throghout Europe, yea and at his Maiesties coronation in England, put in Latine, and published anew againe by that common post of the world in our age *Mercurius Gallo-belgicus*. But so it is, as all men know, that the discipline and government of the kirk exercised by Presbyteries, and by Bishops, are so opposed one to another, that when the one is set up, the other must down of force. Therefore the subscrivers and swearers of the former confession, if they should (as God forbid) be about to set up Bishops and Episcopall governement, they could not eschew the crime of horrible perjurie, execrable Apostasie, and most cursed repairing again of Iericho, from the which the Lord preserve his most excellent Maiesty, and honourable Estates of this present parlament. And if any man

doubteth

doubteth what was the discipline of the kirk of Scotland at the first subscriving and swearing of that confession, let them seek the Register of the general Assembly holden at Glasgow, to the which it was presented, together with a platforme of the whole Presbyteries to be established throughout the Realme by the Laird of Capninton cõmissioner for his maiestie to the sayd assembly in the yeare of God 1581, they shal find that the Bishopries were wholly abolished inthe assembly holden at Dundie the yeare immediatly preceeding. So that without al questiõ, it is meant of the discipline of the kirk exercised by Presbyteries, Synods, and generall Assemblies directly opponed to the corruption and tyranny of Bishops, as vvas clearly defined and ratified in Parliament. After the second subscriving anew againe of the sayd confession in the yeare 1592. In end, seeing these same men, who now would be Bishops, haue once or twice sworne and subscrived this confession, it marvels me vvith what forehead they can be about a purpose so quite contrary thereto.

Chap. VI.

That this office of Bishoprie is against the constitutions of the Kirk of Scotland in her Assemblies.

MAister *Knox* following the light of holy Scripture, and the advice of *Theodor Beza*, as he had preached continually, so immediatly before his departure, he wrote to the generall Assemblie convened at Striveling in the yeare 1571 in these words: *Vnfaithfull and traytors to the flockes shall yee bee before the Lord Iesus, if that with your consent directly or indirectly yee suffer unworthy men to be thrust in within the ministerie of the Kirke under what pretence that ever it be. Remember the Iudge before whom yee must make an account, and resist that tyrannie, as yee would avoyd hells fire.* And this letter is registrat in the acts of the sayd Assembly. In the generall Assemblie convened at Edinburgh in March 1572, sess. 7. M. *Iohn Spottiswood* superintendent of Lawthiane, gaue in this article. *It is neither agreeable to the word of God, nor practise of the primitiue Kirke, that the spirituall administration of the word and sacraments, and the ministration of the civill and criminal justice should be so confounded, that one person may occupie both the cures.* Wherfore the whol Assem. refused the Earle of Morton then Regent his desire, to make ministers sessioners in the colledge of Iustice. From that assembly unto the assembly holden at Dundie Iuly 1580, the corruption of the Bishoprie vvas more and more espied, unto the time the vvhole Assem. being ripely advised, and fully resolved all

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in one voyce yeelded as followeth: *Forasmuch as the office of a Bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken within this realme, hath no warrant, authoritie nor ground in the Word of God; but is brought in by the folly and corruption of mans invention, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God. The whole assembly of the Kirk in one voyce after libertie given to all men to reason in the matter, none opponing himselfe in defending the sayd pretended office, Findes and declares the same pretended office, used and tearmed as is aboue sayd, unlawfull in it selfe, as having neither fundament, ground nor warrant in the scriptures of God: and ordaines that all such persons as bruikes or shall bruike hereafter the sayd office, shall bee charged simply to dimit, quyt, and leaue off the same, as an office whereunto they are not called by God. And siclike to desist and ceasse from all preaching of the Word, ministration of the sacraments, or using any way the office of Pastors, which they receiue* de novo *admission from the generall Assembly, under the paine of excommunication to bee vsed against them, wherein if they be found disobedient, or contravene this act in any poynt, the sentence of excommunication after due admonitions to be execute against them.* The yeare following 1581 a forme of establishing Presbyteries throughout all the shires of the Realm were sent from his Maiestie to the general assembly conveneed at Glasgow, and commissioners both from his Maiesty and the generall assembly nominate and ordained to plant Presbyteries in all parts convenient. The which being done, not onely ceased all ruling of bishops, but also in the generall assembly at Edinburgh in August 1590 all commissioners from generall assemblies appointed for visitation of Provinces, were ordained to cease, where presbyteries were planted, to root out all danger of tyranny and authoritie of sole government within the Kirk: and that because they perceived that sort of sole government to be against the word of God, and that Iesus Christ had ordained his kirk to bee ruled by the common care and councell of his lawfully called Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons in their meetings and assemblies. And where some, that knowes not, may think that these generall assemblies at which the kings maiestie was present, holden since the 7 of December 1596, hath altered these cõstitutions, there is no such thing. Therefore leaving off how matters proceeded since that time, as known to the whole Realme, I will onely set downe out of the Register of the Kirk what vvas done.

The generall assembly holden at Dundie March 1597, Sess. 11. *The generall Assem. votes findes and concludes that it is necessary and expedient for the weale of the kirk, that the ministers as the third estate of the Realme in name of the kirk, have vote in Parliament.* Sess. 12. *Concerning the number of the Ministers that should haue vote in Parliament in name of the kirk, it was likewise concluded and thought expedient, that*

as many of them as should bee chosen for the vote in Parliament, as were wont of old in time of the Papisticall kirk to be Bishops, Abbots and Pryors, that had the like libertie, viz. to the number of fiftie one or thereby. Item, after reasoning it was voted and concluded, that the election of such of the ministerie, as should haue vote in parliamẽt, ought to be of a mixed qualitie, and appertaines partly to his maiesty, and partly to the kirk. In the generall assembly at Montrose 1600 in March. sess. 6. *Concerning the manner of choosing of him that shall haue vote in parliament in name of the Kirk, it is condiscended upon, that he shall be first recommended by the kirke to his Maiestie, and that the Kirk shall nominate six for every place that hath need to be filled, of whom his Ma. shall choose one whom he best likes, and his Ma. promises oblishes and binds himselfe to choose no other but one of that number. And in case his Ma. refuse the whole upon a just reason of insufficiencie, or greater sufficiencie of others that are not recommended; the Assembly shall make a new recommendation of men according to the first number, of the which one by his Ma. shall be chosen without any further refusal, or new nomination. And he that shal be chosen by his Ma. shall be admitted by the Synods. It is concluded that the general assembly shal haue the nomination or recommendation of him, that in name of the Kirk shall vote in parliament, who shall take the advice of the Synods and Prestyteries thereanent directed from them in writ. And the Synods shall have libertie to nominate, as well within the Province as without, providing that if there bee a man within the Province meet for the place* cæteris paribus, *hee bee preferred to any other. Anent his rent, it is advised with one consent, that the Kirk being planted sufficiently, the colledges and schooles already erected, not prejudged, that the King shall provide him to all the rest that may be obtained of that benefice, where he is preferred.*

The Cautions.

As to the cautions to keep him that shall have vote in parliament from corruption, they be these following.

1 *That hee presume not at any time to propone at Parliament, Councell, or Convention, any thing in name of the kirk, without an expresse warrant and direction of the kirk, vnder the paine of deposition from his office. Neither shall hee consent or keepe silence in any of the sayd conventions, to any thing that may be preiudiciall to the weale and libertie of the kirk under the sayd paine.*

2 *Hee shall bee bound at every generall Assembly, to giue an account anent the dischaege of his commission, since the assembly going before, and shall submit himselfe to their censure, and stand to their determination whatsoever, without appellation, and shall seeke and obtaine ratification of his doings at the sayd Assembly vnder the paine of infamie and excommunication.*

3 *He shall content himselfe with that part of the benefice, which shall be given to him by his maiesty for his living, not hurting nor preiudging the rest of the ministers of the kirk within his benefice planted, or to bee planted, or any other minister of the countrey whatsoever, and this clause to be insert in his provision.*

4 *He shall not dilapidate in any way, neither set nor make disposition thereof without the speciall advice and consent of his Maiesty and general assembly. And for the greater warrant thereof, he shall interdict himselfe not to dilapidate his benefice, nor consent to dilapidation thereof made by others, to the generall assembly, and shall be content that inhibitions bee raised on him to that effect.*

5 *He shall be bound faithfully to attend upon his own particular congregation, where he shall be minister in all the poynts of a Pastor, and hereanent shall be subject to the triall and censure of his own Presbyterie and Provinciall assemblie, as any other minister that beares not commission.*

6 *In the administration of discipline, collation of benefices, visitation and al other poynts of Ecclesiastical government, he shal neither usurp nor acclaime to himselfe any power or Iurisdiction, further then any other of the rest of his brethren, except he be imployed by his brother, under the paine of deprivation. And in case hee usurpe any part of the Ecclesiasticall government, and the Presbyteries, Synodall or generall Assemblies oppone and make any impediment thereto, whatsoever hee do after that impediment to be null* ipso facto *without any declaratorie.*

7 *In Presbyteries, provinciall and generall Assemblies, hee shall behaue himselfe in all things, and be subiect to their censuring, as any of the brethren of the Presbyterie.*

8 *At his admission to his office of commissionarie these and no other poynts necessarie, he shall sweare to subscriue and fulfill under the penalties foresayd, and otherwise not to be admitted.*

9 *And in case he be deposed by the general Assembly, Synod or Presbyterie from his office of the ministery, he shall also tyne his vote in Parliament* ipso facto, *and his benefice shall vaike.*

And further cautions to be made, as the kirk pleases and findes occasion anent his name that for the kirk should vote in parliament, it is advised by vniforme consent of the whole brethren, that he shall bee called commissioner of such a place.

It is also statute and ordained, that none of them that shall haue vote in Parliament, shall come as commissioners to any generall Assembly, nor have vote in the same in any time comming, except he be authorized with a commission from his own presbyterie to that effect.

It is moreover found by the Assembly, that crimen ambitus *shall bee a sufficient cause of deprivation of him, that shall haue vote in parliament.*

Sess. 8. *The generall Assembly having reasoned at length the question anent his commission, Who shall vote in Parliament, Whether he should endure for his life time, except some crime or offence intervene, or for a shorter time at the pleasure of the Kirk, Findes and decernes that he shall* annuatim *giue accompt of his commission obtained from the Assemblie and lay down the same at their feet to be continued or altered therefrom by his Majestie and the Assemblie, as the Assem. With consent of his Maj. shall think expedient to the Weale of the Kirke. Whose Whole conclusions being read in audience of the Whole assembly, and they being ripely advised therewith, ratified, allowed and approved the same, and thought expedient that the said Cautions, together With such others as shalbe concluded upon by the Assemblie, be insert in the bodie of the Act of Parliament, that is to be made for confirmation of vote in Parliament to the Kirk as most necessarie and substantiall parts of the same.*

Then briefly to assume and conclude, but so it is that their new L. B. neither in the entrie to their office, nor yet in their behaviour therein, hithertohaue kept one jot of these constitutions and cautions, but hath broken all; therefore such roomes and offices should not be confirmed to them in this present Parliament.

Chap. VII.

That the Office of Bishoprie is against the lawes of this Realme.

OVr Soveraigne, the Kings most excellent Majestie came into the world, and entered to his Kingdome of this Realme, with the cleare light of the Gospell, and the establishing of a reformed Kirk, & therfore as a most godly and Christian Prince hath in his all Parliaments confirmed, ratified and approved the freedome and libertie of the true Kirk of God, and religion publickly professed within his Majestie Realme, as in his first Parliament holden by his Majesties good Regent the Earle of Murray, Likewise in his Highnesse second, holden by his grandfather the Earl of Lennox; the same is ratified in the first Act of his first Parliament holden after the taking of the governement in his Highnesse own person. Also in the first of his sixt Parliament holden at Edinburgh the 20 of October 1579. *Our Soveraigne Lord With advice and consent of his three Estates, and Whole bodie of this present Parliament ratifies & approues all and Whatsoever Acts & Statutes made of before by his Highnes, With advice of his Regents in his own reigne, or his Predecessors, anent the libertie and freedom of the true Kirk of God and religion now presently professed Within this realme, and specially &c.*

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The second act of the same sixt Parliament is expresly for the jurisdiction of the Kirk which is there said to consist & stand in the preaching of Iesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of the holy Sacraments; and declares that there is no other face of a Kirk, nor other face of Religion, then is presently by the favour of God established within this realme. And that there be no other Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall acknowledged within this Realm other then that which is & shal be within the same kirk, or that which flowes there from concerning the premisses. And in his Majesties seventh Parliament at Edinburgh, October 1581. In the first Act there is a generall ratification of the libertie of the true Kirk of God, and confirmation of all the Actes and Lawes made to that effect before, by particular rehearsall and catalogue, and amongst the rest, *The ratification of the libertie of the true Kirk of God and religion*, and anent the Iurisdiction of the Kirk of God twice. And after the Kings perfect age of 21 yeares in the eleventh Parliament, At Edinburgh Iuly 1587, there is a cleare and full ratification of all Lawes made anent the libertie of the Kirk.

Now if any will say, what is all these Actes against the Bishops? I say, direct: for whatsoever is for the Ministers, Presbyters and Assemblies, is against the Bishops: But so it is that all these Acts are for thé, because as we haue shown, the doctrine and constitutions of the Ministers & Assemblies, hath been ever since the reformation, against the corruption of Bishops', and that is the freedom, libertie and discipline of the Kirk which is confirmed, for verification whereof we alledge first the Confession of faith confirmed by Parliament and registred among the Actes thereof, wherein the 19 Article anent the notes of the true Kirk, ye haue last *Ecclesiasticall Discipline uprightly ministred as Gods Word prescriued:* But so it is, that out of the Word the doctrine of the Ministers hath been against the Bishops, as also the discipline set down in the Generall Assemblies. Next that the first Act of his Majesties Acts of Parliament. *Our soueraigne Lord With advice of his three estates and Whole bodie of this present Parliament, hath declared and declares the Ministers of the blessed Euangell of Iesus Christ, Whom God of his mercie hath now raised up to be the true and holy Kirk.* Thirdly, that golden Act which clearely crownes and formally concludes the cause; *viz.* the first Act of the 12 Parliament of King *Iames* the 6 At Edinburgh Iunii 1592 intitulate, *Ratification of the libertie of the true Kirk, of generall and Synodall Assemblies of the Presbyteries of Discipline*, which speakes this plainly in the end. *Item our Soueraigne Lord and Estates in Parliament foresaid abrogates, casses and annulles the Act of Parliament made in anno 1584 granting commission to B. and other Iudges constitute in Ecclesi-*

asticall causes to receiue his Highnesse presentation to Benefices, and giue collation thereupon, and to put order in all causes Ecclesiasticall, which his Majestie and Estates foresaid declares to be expired in it selfe, and to be null in time comming, and of none availe, force nor effect. And therfore ordaines all presentations of Benefices to be direct to particular Presbyteries in all time comming, with full power to giue collation thereupon, and to put order to all manners and causes Ecclesiastical within the bounds according to the discipline of the Kirk. And finally the act of annexation of the temporalitie of the benefices to the crown of necessitie, demolishes and beates down all the Bishops, *Iam. 6 Parl. 11 cap. 29.*

Chap. VIII.

That they are against the honour of God and his Christ.

THe standing for the maintenance of the kingdome of God, and, whom hee hath anointed his King upon his holy mountaine, the Lord Iesus Christ, is to their honour; like as to slide from it and leaue it, to follow after the world, is against the honour of God and Christ. To hear the word of God and to do it, is the special honouring of God, & of that great Pastor of the sheep the Lord Iesus Christ: As by the cõtrary the rejecting of his word, and casting it off behind their back is his dishonour. And finally to build & plant with God is to honour him, so to cast down & root out that, which by the Ministerie of his notable servants he hath builded and planted is to his high dishonor: But so it is, as I haue verified & shewn, that Bishopricks makes men to slide away from the Kingdome of Christ, to leaue it, and follow the world, to reject his word and cast it behind their back: And finally to cast down and root out, that which Christs faithfull servants hath bigged and planted, even that sincerity of the Gospell & freedom of the Kirk of Christ brought to such perfection, and so well established, & left unto us by them: and so with the Scribes and Pharises to seek the glory of men rather then of God, & to seek honor one of another, and not to honour Christ nor to seek to be acceptable unto him.

And is it not, alas, a horrible dishonouring of God, and the preaching of his blessed veritie & vword, to flatter men & annoint their filthie flesh with earthly honor, wealth & sensualitie, to make Christs holy Ministers to be loathed, sclandered and evil spoken of. And as the Lord rebuked *Eli* the Priest & his sons, vvhose sinnes vvere great before the Lord, in making men to abhorre the Lords Ministers and offerings: Therfore the Lord threatned them by *Samuel* saying: *Wherfore haue ye kicked against my sacrifice & my offrings which I commanded in my tabernacle, and honors thy children aboue me,*

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to make your selfe fat of the first fruits of all the offerings of my people Israel, Wherefore the Lord God of Israel saith, I said thy house and the house of thy fathers should walke before me for ever: But now the Lord saith it shall not be so; for they that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be despised. And now, O yee Priests, cryed Malachie, this commandement is for you, if ye will not heare it nor consider it in your heart to giue glorie unto my name, I will even send a curse upon you; and will cursse your blessings; yea, I haue cursed them alreadie, because ye doe not consider it in your hearts. Behold I will corrupt your seed, and cast dong upon your faces, even the dong of your solemne feasts, and ye shall be like unto it; and yee shall know that I haue sent this commandement unto you, that my covenant which I haue made with Levi, might stand, saith the Lord of hosts. My covenant was with him of life and peace and equitie, and he did turne many away from iniquitie. For the Priests lips should preserue knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are gone out of the way, ye haue caused many to fall by the Law, ye haue broken the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts. Therefore I haue also made you to be despised and vile before all the people, because yee keep not my wayes.

Chap. IX.

That this Bishoprie is against the honour and weale of the Kings Majestie.

IS it not the Kings vveale & honour to honour God, to loue, fear & obey him, to be wise and learned, to serue God in fear, and rejoice in trembling, to kisse the Son lest he be angry; to be a nurs-father to the Kirk, to be an avenger of all breakers of Gods holy law and misorders against his manifest word and truth: And in a vword to raign in Christ, by Christ, and vvith Christ, & against the sinne that drawes him to the contrarie? Is it not the weale and honour of his Maj. to hold himselfe in the favour of God, & that reverent loue & good estimation of all that feares God unfeignedly, & loues the Lord Iesus Christ, by holding fast that profession of the sincerity of the Gospell, in doctrine & discipline, wherof his H. & Kingdome in this Iland namely, hath found comfort and profit, that all the godly this day triumphes in, all the vvicked envie, Europe is astonished with admiration, at that union of these Kingdomes under one God and Christ, one King, one Faith, one Law, and under his Majestie advanced and highly lifted up throne, far aboue all Kings Throns in Christendom, in this respect & for this cause, namely that his Highnes was borne & entred to reign at the light and sinceritie of the Gospel; hath reigned so long, so happily, so peaceable with the same, and he and his posterity in hope and

good

good appearance holding fast the same to reigne most blessedly even to that appearance of Christ the King of Kings from the heavens. Is it not his Majesties weale and honour to stand fast to that confession of faith sworne and subscrived by his Highnesse, for good example to his houshold, estates and all his subjects, extant in all languages, affixed as it were on the most high pillar in the great Theater of Europe, testifying and proclaiming to all, his Majesties pietie, sinceritie and zeale to the Gospell of Christ and his Kingdome, against all corruption and thraldome of the Antichrist of Rome? And against his weale and honour that leades him to the contrarie? Is it not the weale and honour of his Royall Majestie, to haue all the hearts of the most sincere Protestants and professors of the holy Evangell; not onely throughout great Brittaine, but also France, Germanie, Switzerland and Sweden, to be as it were the heart of one man, to ware all their bloud for his Majesties safetie in person, encrease in honour, and stabilitie in estate; by holding fast unaltered or mixed the sincere simplicitie of the Gospell, and doctrine, sacraments and discipline, which they haue so long professed with his Majestie, and against the which what cursed force or businesse was ever able to prevaile unto this houre? And finally, is it not his Majesties weale and honour to be safe and free from the falshood, flatterie and crueltie of ambitious avarice, which hath brought so many notable Emperours, Kings and Princes to tragicall ends, corrupted sincere Kirkes, and overthrowne flourishing Common-wealthes? And verily this venome and poyson of humane Bishops, degenerating into Satanicall, hath filled the Ecclesiastical & civill histories full of such effects, the smallest haire of root and pickle of seed is therefore to be fanned away and plucked out of all Kirkes, Kingdomes and Common-wealthes. This the godly wisedome, quicknesse of wit, prudence and sagacitie of the King, who is as an Angell of God, can well marke, and take up a farre, both to beware of it where he hath found it, and can not well amend it, and not to permit to creep into the field so carefully and cleane purged therefrom. Thus passing over the impairing of the Kings patrimonie, and many moe things against his Highnesse weale and honour, for brevities sake I end this point, not doubting but his Majestie is alwaies mindfull of that declaration, so clearely, godly and eloquently penned & subscribed by his Highnesse own hands, at his Majesties Parliament holden at Linlithgow in December 1585. The conclusion whereof is most worthie of remembrance at this time, for that by forgetting that, these who seek Episcopall dignitie seekes the hurt and dishonour of his most renowmed Majestie. *Then shortly to end this my declaration,*

ration, I mind not to cut away any libertie granted by God to his Kirk, I acclame not my selfe to be judge of doctrine in Religion, salvation, heresies or true interpretation of Scripture &c. And in end, *My intention is not to meddle with excommunication, neither acclame I to my selfe or my heires power in any thing that is meer Ecclesiasticall, neither to meddle in any that Gods Word hath simply devolved in the hands of the Kirk. And to conclude I confesse and acknowledge Christ Iesus to be Head and Lawgiver to the same. And whatsoever persons doe attribute to themselues as head of the Kirk and not as members, to suspend or alter any thing that the Word of God hath onely remitted to his Kirk; that man I say committs manifest idolatrie, and sinnes against the Father in not trusting the Words of his Son; against the Sonne in not obeying him, and in taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience.* Certainly thus honouring God and Iesus Christ his Highnes shall be well and honourable, according to that promise, *I will honour him that honours me.*

Chap. X.

That this Bishoprie is against the honour and weale of the Realme.

WHerein hath stood thy honor and weale ô Scotland these 46 yeares and aboue? Was it not, in the judgement of all that judgeth rightly, in the sincerity of the Gospel & freedom of Iesus Christs Kingdom established so notably within thee with so small bloud and trouble? Since that Gospel of peace came within thee, thou hast had no forraine wars, and all commotions within thy selfe haue beene easily setled, God being in the midst of thee. & bringing evident judgments upon all that lifted their head, or moued their tongue against his Kirk. And shalt thou become so foolish and bewitched, as not to hold fast that verity, having had Christ so cleerly painted forth before thy eyes as if thou with the same had seene him crucified? Shalt thou with those foolish Galatians begin in the spirit & end in the flesh? Wilt thou follow them, of whom the Apostle weeping doth write, *that they are enemies to the crosse, whose end is destruction or damnation, whose God is their belly, whose glorie is shame*, earthly minded men who seekes not the glory of Christ, nor safety of the soules of thy people, but to be thy guiders, and misguid thee; to be thy conductors & seduce thee, to make thee to sinne against God after the manner of the golden Calues at Dan and Bethel, that so the Lord may be incensed and cast thee away from his face? They seeke glorie amongst men and one of another, & so neither can beleeue and trust in Christ them-

selues, nor make thee doe it and be safe. Surely for wealth and honour worldly thou was never comparable to other nations, but the Evangell so planted in thee was that crown of thy glorie, that decored thy head, and set it up aboue all Realmes and Kingdomes upon the face of the earth. Hearken, dear mother, what the Lord said unto his people Israel of old, & take it now to be spoken unto thee. *Aske from the times of old that haue been before thee, even from that day that God created man upon the earth frō the one end of the heaven unto the other, if there was done such a thing as this is, or if there hath been heard the like of it: If any God hath essayed to come & take unto him a nation out of the midst of another nation, with proofes and signes and wonders, with war-strong hand & stretched out arme; finally with most great terrours according to all that Iehovah hath done for you, even your God to bring you out of the land of Egypt. What nation is like thy people Israel in all the earth, which for to be a people went to redeem, and hath gone to get himselfe a name, and to worke these great things and mightie, reverently to be admired, expelling from the face of thy people whom thou redeemed to thee out of Egypt the Nations and their Gods: for thou hast established thy people Israel that it may be a people unto thee for ever, and thou Iehovah their God. Who telleth his word to Iacob, his Statutes and Lawes to Israel, he hath not done so to any nation; therefore they know not these Lawes, Praise yee the Lord.* Was not Papistrie thy Egypt, ô Scotland, and did not the Lord deliver thee out of it, and safeing thee from that tyrannie and thraldome brought thee unto a pleasant Canaan of his Gospell to serue him in spirit and truth: and that in such a manner and forme, as the like was never heard nor seene? And no lesse miraculously hath he made thee to dwel therein so long, so safely, so freely: and shalt thou then goe and make to thee other Captaines by *Moses* and *Aaron*, yea contemning then thy lawfull Priests & Levites, to lead thee back again into Egypt? God forbid, But so it is (deere natiue country) your Seers see, and your Watchmen giues you a faithfull warning, crying to you, that the Episcopall Hierarchie is verie Papistrie, and spirituall Egypt. Howbeit, by the pollicie of men, otherwaies buskit, attired and dressed to take the foolish and simple withall. It is no other thing in the substance thereof, taken from the last and grossest dung of Antichrist, making the Kingdome of Christ to be of this world, turning the spirituall worshipping of God in outward toyes and ceremonies, bringing the pompe of the world into the simple and humble Kirk; yea corrupting the fountaines of the waters of life, and empoysoning the food of the soules to work dangerous sicknesses and deadly diseases amongst thy sonnes and daughters. The whole Pulpits hath sounded unto you so many years, and yet continues to sound where they are not emptied or terrified by their

Deut. 4.

2 Sam. 7. 23. 24.

Psal. 147.

tyrannie.

tyrannie. Admitting that Bishoprie againe, loft is your honour, wracked is your welfare, and gone is your grace and garland of heavenly and spirituall glorie for ever. Forget not the first essay of their good service in Parliament to God, the Kirk and Commonwealth, in giving their votes and suffrages to seventeen erections of the Prelacies and livings of the Kirk in temporall Lordships to attaine thirteen rounged and dilapidate Bishoprickes, as was reported and complained upon to the Kings Majestie and his Councell at Hampton Court, 1606.

Chap. XI.

That Bishoprie is against the constitution and setled estate of the Kirk and Kingdom, and so most dangerous.

It is an Axiom approved in Experience and Policie. *Quod omnis mutatio Reipub. est periculosa etiamsi in melius*, how much more *in deterius*. The reason then holdeth thus. All dangerous things for the estate and common-wealth are to bee eschewed: But change is dangerous, namely from such an estate, which is conforme to the word of God, good Lawes and Constitutions, the judgement of the holiest and best learned, ancient and moderne, the best estate of the Primitiue Kirk, and best reformed Kirkes from corruption of Papistrie, to an estate plaine contrarie, and so most perverse and pernicious. For let Lawyers and Politiques reason and judge the civill part for the estate of the Kingdome, we dare boldly conclude, as we haue evidently proved, that it is pernicious for the Kirk of Iesus Christ: And that which is pernicious thereto can never stand with the good estate of a Christian Kingdome and godly Common-wealth. It is so cleare in the Histories, and miserable experience of these last Ages of the world that it needs no probation, being acknowledged and affirmed by all Protestants, that the Popish Hierarchie and usurpation of both the swords, hath brought the Romane Empire, and all Kingdomes and Commonwealths in Europe that haue not resisted the same, to abominable and most filthie servitude and slaverie, in their goods, bodies & soules. And those who haue cast off the yoke of that bondage, and resisted thereunto haue been involved in bloudie battels, and had great fear & adoe to keep them safe from the most craftie and cruel practises of that pestilent throne of kirk ambition & avarice. And shal the dregs, or rather sprowtings thereof be brought in again into Scotland? Shall these siplings & sprowtings be taken up and set with guiding again in the Lords vineyard

to grovv up to seed, to shake and overgrovv the same? Or shall these dregges be cast in a Limbique, and such Aquavitie to be dravvn thereof as vvill make the braines of all giddie that tasts thereof? Shall these Cockatrice egges be hatched in our Kingdome of nevv, vvhereof all Kings, Kingdomes and Estates that haue eaten therof are dead in sin, and spirituall and temporall slaverie? And such as haue been sparked therevvith doe cry as if they vvere stung vvith a viper? The Lord safe our kirk, kingdom and King from such sparkes.

We haue produced before, the Lavves of our Kingdome, the constitutions of our Kirk, the doctrine and confession thereof, vvhereunto all the members both of Kirk and Commonvveale, & Kingdome haue solemnly svvorn and subscrived, and vvhich hath been professed, established, and stood in our Kirk and Kingdom almost novv an vvhole Iubile of yeares. To all the vvhich this Bishoprie, this usurpation of both Offices Civill & Ecclesiasticall the temporall Lordship, the earthly dominion, the worldly vain pomp and the most dangerous invasion of governing both court & kirk is most repugnant. And yet notwithstanding the walles of our Troy, which were builded by the finger of our God, must be demolished, & we with our own hands hail in that devilish Grecian horse within the Lords Citie, to set it all on fire. O mad folly! ô terrible Judgement for the contempt of the Gospell and fruitlesse abuse of the freedome thereof, so long, so liberally and so gloriously bestowed on Scotland!

Chap. XII.

This Bishoprie is against the honour aud weale of the Noble Estates of Parliament.

THe honour and weale of the Noble Estates of Parliament, namely since the light of the Gospell shined in our dark nation, vvas to haue the Kirk of God and libertie of this most ancient Kingdome in speciall carefull regard, to make good lawes in favour of the same, and to see them haue life and vigor by due execution. And for that effect to haue a solemne and free advice and vote, without the vvhich nothing should passe and be effectuall by any convoy, plot or practise whatsoever. But set mee up these Bishops once (called long since the Princes Ledhorse) things if they were never so unlawful, unjust, ungodly and pernitious to Kirk and Realme, If they shall be borne forth by the countenance, authoritie, care and endevour of the King (supposing such a one, as God forbid, come in the roome of our most renoumed Soveragine (for as to the best hath oftentimes

succeeded

ſucceeded the worſt) they ſhall be caried through by his Biſhops ſet up and entertained by him for that effect, and the reſt of the eſtates not onely be indeed as cyphers, but alſo beare the blame thereof to their great evill and diſhonour. And if one will aske how ſhall theſe Biſhops be more ſubiect to be carried after the appetite of an evill prince, then the reſt of the eſtates. The anſwer and reaſon is, becauſe they haue their Lordſhip and living, their honour, eſtimation, profit and commoditie of the King by others. The King may ſet them vp, and caſt them downe, give them and take from them, put them in and out at his pleaſure. And therefore they muſt bee at his direction to doe what liketh him, and in a word, he may doe with them by law, becauſe they are ſet vp againſt law: but with other eſtates hee cannot doe ſo, they having either heritable ſtanding in their roomes by the fundamentall lawes, or then but a commiſſion from the eſtate that ſend them, as from the Burgeſſes or Barones. Againe, if one would ſay, Howbeit the Biſhops and all the ſpirituall eſtate vvere corrupted, yet there is two or three eſtates beſide? Wee anſwer firſt, there is a great number of the other eſtates, whereof it is eaſie to make choyce of ſome, that for certaine commoditie and advancement of their ſtate and matters, may be eaſily corrupted. Next, deprave me once the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, which hath the gift of knowledge & learning by others, and are ſuppoſed, becauſe they ſhould bee of beſt conſcience, that ſo they are, the reſt will eaſily bee miſcarried. And that ſo much the more, that the officiars of eſtate, Lords of Seſſion, Iudges, Lawyers that haue their offices of the King, are commonly framed after the courts affection. Yea, let Chancellor, Secretarie, Theſaurer, Preſident, Controller, and others that now are, take heed that theſe new Prelats of the Kirk as convetous and ambitious as ever they were of old, inſinuating themſelues by flatterie and obſequence in the Princes favour, attaine to the bearing of all theſe offices of eſtate and crowne, and to the exerciſing thereof, as craftily, avaritiouſly, proudly, and cruelly, as ever the Papiſticall Prelates did. For as the holieſt, beſt and wiſeſt Angels of light, being depraved, became moſt wicked, crafte and cruell Divells, ſo the learnedeſt and beſt paſtor perverted and poyſoned by that old ſerpent with avarice and ambition, becomes the falſeſt, worſt, and moſt cruell man, as experience in all ages hath proved. A further conſideration of this poynt alſo we leaue to the Lawyers, Politiques, and Stateſmen.

CHAP.

Chap. XIII.

That this Bishoprie is against the weale of all Scottishmen in soule body and goods.

HOwbeit that this be cleare enough of all that haue been spoken in the chapters preceding, yet particularizing the same, we will make it more cleare.—Wee call them good Scottishmen, that have a true sence of the honour of God, love of their Christ, care of the sinceritie of the Gospell, and libertie of his Kirke, a feeling of the need of their soules, a hunger and thirst for righteousnesse, and that word of life which is the food therof, and therewithall a loue of their natiue countrey, of the freedome and weale of the same. Now this Bishoprie shall either take away all true religion and sinceritie of the Gospell, or then the fruitfull vse thereof for the feeding and comfort of soules. For if there arise a Popish or prophane Prince, they must alter with him, and please and obey him, or tyne their places, their honours, their riches and pleasures, the which they will not doe, because they have already given their consciences, honestie, truth, and credit before God and man, as a price for these things of the world. And put case true religion stand, what care will they haue of feeding of soules, who haue sold their owne for the world. All their care and travell must bee to keep their Court, please the King, acquire and conserve more plentie of goods, honour and pleasures. And they being thus set and given, their inferiour ministers for the most part will follow their fashions, so there shall bee nothing amongst men but atheisme, licentiousnesse and profanitie. For as concerning discipline, it being put into the hands of Bishops, they will make merchandise of it, or let the reines thereof loose in favour of this or that great man, or of one Courteor or other, as hath ever been the nature and custome of these Bishops to be men-pleasers, and hunters after the favour and friendship of the world, not daring to displease or adhere unto the execution thereof upon others, least it should strike upon themselues commonly more guiltie and slanderous then any other. And thus the true worship of God, and care of the salvation of soules, shall utterly perish, Next, I call them good Scottishmen, who haue a care and loue of the libertie of their countrey, and of their bodies to liue as free men therein in safetie and good health. But so it is this Bishoprie will bring the countrey, the lawes, the priviledges thereof with the bodies of men in slaverie,

verie, servitude and riotous dissolution, which breedes manifold diseases, distruction and death of body. For if any succeeding Prince please to play the tyrant, and governe all not by lawes, but by his will and pleasure, signified by missiues, articles, and directions, these Bishops shall never admonish him as faithfull pastors and messengers of God (for that they are not, having no lawfull calling nor authoritie from God and his kirk) but as they are made up by man, they must and will flatter, pleasure and obey men. And as they stand by affection of the Prince, so will they by no meanes jeopard their standing, but be the readiest of all to put the Kings will and pleasure in execution; and it were to take and apprehend the bodies of the best, and such namely as would stand for the lawes and freedome of the Realme, and cast them in dark and stinking prisons, put them in exile from their natiue land, &c. Attour & besides this, vnlesse that men of whatsoever estate or ranke they be, cap and kneele to them, give them their ambitious stiles, places and salutations, slavishly abusing their bodies against their hearts, they shall not misse their indignation to be interest, and crossed, and wronged in their earands and affaires, and to bee traduced at Court by them or by their meanes. Last, their companie and entertainment will be an example of ryot and excesse, whereto that Bishoprie is much given. And if thus the Realme, the lawes and priviledges therof, and the persons of good Scotishmen may be used, it is easie to gather the like of their goods and geare. The Bishop in his owne citie, and among his vassals, will thinke himselfe a pettie Roy, vvho dare deny to lend, to give, to serve them, with whatsoever they haue? or if they doe deny, can they not and their Lawyers, Domestiques, Dependaries, devise the way how to get him to the Horne, or into some inconvenience and danger of the law, and then their whole goods and estate falling into the Bishops hands, they shall bee pilled and polled sickerly, The pittifull experience in times past, makes us bold to give the warning for the time to come: for it hath been seen and felt, and yet dayly is in this Iland. And finally, it is already too manifest, that if the Prince bee prodigall, or would inrich his Courtiers by taxations, imposts, subsidies and exactions layd upon the subjects of the Realme, who have been, or shall bee so ready to conclude and impose that by parliament, as these who are made and set up for that and the like service. And whatsoever become of the poore tenents and labourers by land or sea, they shall bee ever winners by that block and butie.

Then to conclude, seeing this Bishoprie, as wee have clearly & evidently shown and verified, is against the written word of God,

against the Canons of the ancient kirk, against the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the kirk, against the iudgement of all the sound moderne divines and reformed kirkes in Europe, against the doctrine of the kirk of Scotland preached these 46 yeares, against the confession of faith subscrived and sworne by the King and whole body of the Realme, against the constitutions of the kirk of Scotland in her assemblies, against the lawes of the realme, against the honour of God and his Christ, against the honour and weale of the king, against the honour and weale of the realme, against the constitute and setled estate of the Kirk and kingdome, against the honour and weale of the noble estates in Parliament. And finally against the weale of all good Scottishmen in soule, body and goods: Our earnest request and exhortation is, with all humilitie, submisse and reverend duetie to his most excellent Maiesty, and most ancient and noble estates of this present parliamen: that as they tender the glory of God, the honour of his Christ, the peaceable and flourishing estate of Kirk and Commonweale, the welfare and honour of your selves, and the weale and good of all estates and subiects of this realme committed by God to their government an protection, that they erect not of new that unlawful & most pernitious estate of Bishops But on the cõtrarie, that it would please his Highnesse with advice of his estates in this present Parliament, to ratifie againe of new the established goverment and discipline of the Kirke, and confirme the cautions made in generall Assemblies, namely, where his Maiestie was present to save the Kirke and Realme from the most pestilent corruptions of that false Bishoprie that these fearfull dangers and inconveniences being thus prevented, the blessing of grace, peace and glory may be continued and multiplied upon the kings most excellent Maiestie, his most honourable estates, and whole realme, and the Kirk and kingdome of Iesus Christ may flourish in all quietnes with holines and truth. *Amen.*

Arckip. Let others glory in their audacious conscience, as there will ever be a *Hiel* found to reedifie Iericho, although he know that it will cost him and his never so deare: for my selfe, I had rather in the basest estate abide the bensall of all episcopall authoritie without, then the forcible contradiction of these reasons within, set vpon the highest top of their ambition; especially if the rest of the steppes bee answerable to the first. Wearie not to goe through them with me: And now shew me which was the second.

Epaph. It is easier for me to tell you now, then it was for them to determine at that time, when their preferment was so odious to the whole body of the ministerie: yet it was seen at last, that

Invasio

Invisis perpetuæ dictaturæ was *via ad imperium*; and therfore let them first be constant moderators, which was wrought by this engine: First, *summi papaverum capita demetendi*: for in the yeare 1606, when this course was in hand, the ministers and rulers of the kirk, who stood in their watch, were dissipate, many were drawne out of the Countrey, and after that they were long detained at Court for the modest cariage of single ministers in a matter proper for civill and ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, as was the convention at Aberdein: Some of them as *Athanasius* like *Andrew Melvill*, and *Hilarius* like *James Melvill*, haue died in exile, others were permitted to returne but with restraint. Of the rest remaining at home, albeit some stand to this day in their owne stedfastnesse, yet a great part wanting their former encouragement, and loving the world, were moved to leaue their long continued opposition. 2 In the time of that absence and dissipation for advancing the Prelats to this second step of dignitie, there is appointed at Linlithgow, December 12 a convention in profession preparatorie for a generall Assembly, but keeped like a generall assembly, albeit inspired with another spirit, consisting of Noble men, Statesmen, and such ministers, as were readiest to take and give. 3. It was pretended that the cause of the weaknesse of the kirk against the Papists, was the appearance of the division in the ministerie and alienation of his maiesties minde from some ministers; And that the cause of this cause vvas, partly a feare of the subversion of the discipline and libertie of the Kirk, by removing of Sessions, Presbyteries, Provinciall and generall Assemblies by some of their owne brethren; vsurpation of vnlawfull Iurisdiction in their own persons, a griefe for the afflicted case of their well affected brethren. And vpon the other side, that the charge of the kirk government was committed to men who had not wisedome and experience for keeping the kirk in quietnesse. 4. For removing this cause upon the one side, there was a declaration made in such generall and ambiguous tearmes, as might both gull the simple, making them to conceiue that there was no change intended, and yet include their owne particular intention in case they should be examined afterward upon their own declaration. The words are: *There is no purpose to subvert the Discipline of the Kirke of Scotland, but rather to augment and strengthen the same, so farre as it can serve for the weale of the Gospell, and restraint of vice. And* (say the whole Bishops) *it is not our intention to usurpe and exercise any tyrannous and vnlawfull Iurisdiction over our brethren, nor to engyre ourselves in any way vnlawfully in the Kirk government, &c.* But for removing the cause upon the other side, there was no declaration accepted, that the wisest and

Second step of prelacie, Perpetuall moderation

Linlithgow Assembly.

most

most experienced men should be chosen thereafter; But the Bishops must be constant moderators, alwayes restrained by 13 severall cautions and bands, not unlike the caveats at Montrose; But that they play fast and loose in the end by casting to this provision: *If either upon his maiesties advice and proposition to the assembly, or upon their owne supplication, the generall assembly be moved thereafter to grant them any relaxation of any of the caveats, which upon good reason might appeare to the sayd assembly to be over strait; that this their promise should make no derogation to their libertie*; Even as a little before they professed their willingnes to dimit their benefices at the pleasure of the assembly, for taking away all offence from their brethren, but with *proviso* that his Ma. consent and approbation be had thereto. Never a more pernitious and plausible assembly in this kirk, every one of the Prelats *Vatinius*-like preventing accusation by confession and protestation. And yet no intention but to bee perpetuat in their moderation, for atchieving that, which they all disclaimed in word.

Archip. Was the applause so great that there was no opposition?

Epaph. The opposition could not at the first be so great, as at the first step, by reason of the dissipation of the opponents, the professed qualitie of the convention, the faire pretexts, the great promises, &c. By some the plat was embraced as a barre of brasse to hold out Bishops, by others as a pathway to their preferment, as the event did proue. And many blinded before, did see immediatly after that convention, that the constant moderators were (as was sayd at that time) the little theeves entring at the narrow windowes, to make open the doores to the great theeves. In all the quarters of the countrey, great disputation of the power of Ecclesiasticall assemblies in choosing their owne mouth and moderator. I might produce the reasons that were penned at that time against this second step, but that vvere infinite, and the particulars were to some of the actors yet living intollerable.

Archip. I have heard of your adversaries, that about these times there were faire offers made of conference and disputation for finall decision of all controverted matters, but that they failed ever on your side.

Epaph. But the truth is, another generall assembly but of the new sort, consisting of Noble men, Statesmen, and many Ministers, was keeped at Linlithgow, Iuly 26, 1608, vvhere all the causes of the diseases of the kirk, vvhich vvere mightily then aggreged, are brought to two heads, one was the contempt and discredit of the kirk, and of her vvonted government; another most speciall cause was the distraction of the ministers arising upon di-

versitie

versitie of affection and opinion: diversitie of affection vvas cured, or rather covered by a slender reconciliation made among so many as were present, and recommended to goe forward among the absents at home in their owne presbyteries with many protestations against the breakers of that new made unitie. Diversitie of opinion vvas put into the hands of a cannie commission composed of Bishops there professing the title and dignitie, and of certaine ministers of differing iudgment, vpon no better vvarrant then the election of that convention, to convene with his Maiesty then in England, or with such of the counsell as his highnes should appoynt, at such time and places as they shall be required by his Maiesty, and to treat reason and to consult upon all matters standing presently in controversie among the brethren anent the discipline of the kirk, and whatsoever they agree upon, to report to the next generall assembly.

Archip. Why should that offer haue been refused?

Epaph. Consider first that the one partie of that commission was present, and in case to do what seemed good in their own eye: the other absent, and for the most part discouraged by sinistrous reports to deale in controversies of that kind; no particular ground of the discipline of the kirk was there named to stand in difference, al was under allowed customes and constitutions of the kirk. If any particular diversly taken had stood in doubt to be searched and determined by brotherly reasoning, to what purpose should his Highnes or his Coursellors bee fashed with such affaires, or by vvhat loue and discretion should modest simple ministers be tempted in such matters to utter their minds before the splendor of awful authoritie, all vvhich were rather seen then latent impediments of that pretended vnion: yet the meeting of the commissioners was appointed and keeped at Falkland the 4 of May 1609.

Archip Who was present then, and what vvas done?

Epaph. The Earles of Dunbar and Wigtour, and the Lords of Scone and Fertunbarnes, did convene as his Ma. commissioners, vvith 5 new Bishops, 2 vniversitie men, and 3 ministers for the one part; 9 ministers (the tenth being absent) for the other. After reading of the commission of the general assembly, his Ma. missiue, and M. *Patrick Simson* his excuse; his highnes commissioners urged a conference of 5 of either side, two of his Highnes cõmissioners being present, vvhich break of cõmission was rather taken by the one party then granted by the other: for making way to reasoning, the ministers demanded, 1 what were the points of discipline under different opinions, 2 for the clearing of the qualitie of difference, that they would determine what could be layd in proper sence to be in controversie, and what *extra controversiam.*

Conference at Falkland.

3. of those brethren alledged vnder diversitie of opinions, who vvere on the one side, and vvho on the other. 4. by what authoritie could that conference make the generall commission speciall, or call in question one poynt of discipline established by the kirk, and ratified by law and practise. Much time and talk being spent about these demands, and some boastings to cash the ministers being breathed out, but no cleare answer returned, two questions were confusedly cast in. 1 Whether the moderators of assemblies should bee constant or circular (as they tearmed it.) 2 Whether should the caveats be keeped or not. To the first, the assembly at Linlithhow had already answered, namely that order taken for an *Interim* shall stand to the next generall assembly. To the second, that the caveats were acts of the generall assembly, such as they must stand unrepealed for a good use, viz. for restraining the corruptions of voters in parliament in name of the kirk, and in that respect no more to be called in question then any other act concerning that vote. But after divers assayes to draw the ministers in some breach of the established order, which they declined with all their might, the whole commissioners considering the generality of their commission, and being moved with other necessary respects continued their conference to the first tuesday of August that same 1609 yeare to be keeped at Striveling, willing every one of the sayd brethren to advise and consider gravely of the sayd questions, and to be ready to propone their mindes by word or writ, as they shall think fittest, &c.

Archip. Yee haue put my mind to rest concerning that conference at Falkland: I pray you shew me what was done at Striveling; for I never heard of that meeting.

Epa. The purpose chiefly intended in that assembly & conference to establish the Bishop in his evil groūded moderation, being in the mean time obtained, the diversitie of opinions still remained, and that diet permitetd to expire upon hope that the rest of the course in hand would go more easily in a Linlithgow-like assembly.

Archip. What assembly mean ye; for their sagacitie seemeth now to be hot upon the sent.

Third step to Prelacie, High Commission.

Epaph. I meane the assembly of Glasgow. But I must tell you first, that now having great rents, and being called Lords and Bishops, albeit not in respect of office but benefice; being Lords of Parliament, Lords of Councell, Patrons of kirks, plotters of Ministers stipends, &c. They were armed at that time in Febru. 1610 with the transcendent power of high Commission; which being added unto their former wealth and worldly dignities, maketh the third step of their preferment; *Ecce duo gladij; spiritualis homo judicat omnia, ipse vero à nemine judicatur.*

Archip.

Archip. That is a great and terrible one: for they may now hold intrants at the dore, depriue them who are entred, or plague them with the hungry persecution, confine, vvard, imprisone; So that now I thinke they may mount as they please vvithout opposition; especially when the timorous know that never failing truth; *Cui plus licet quam par est plus vult quam licet.*

Epaph. Hence was it, that vvith all diligence the Assembly of Glascow vvas prepared the same yeare 1610 to be holden Iune 8. for lifting them towards the top of the Ladder: that they might be no longer, *tyranni sine titulo.* In that more costly then profitable Assembly moderated by the Bishop, and made up of Cathnes, Orknay & other wares of that sort; the Assembly at Aberdeen is declared nul: the Bishops made Moderatours in every Diocesan Assembly, and either they or their deputies moderatour of the weekly meetings of the exercise: Ordination and deprivation of Ministers, visitation of Kirkes, excommunication and absolution of persons, presentations, and all pinned to their sleeues. And finally this easie conquest is made sure with this threefold cord. 1 Everie Minister at his entrie shall svvear obedience to his ordinarie: 2 No Minister, neither in preaching nor exercise shall speak against the Actes of this Assembly: 3 That the question of paritie or imparitie of Pastors be not touched in pulpit, both under the paine of deprivation.

Fourth step of Prelacie Their power Ecclesiastical.

Archipp. The Actes of this Assemblie added unto the former, are like the *ale* added to the *decretum;* of vvhich the old proverbe vvent, *Ex quo decreto alæ superveneruntid est, decreta in decretalia abierunt, omnia perpetuo in papas ruisse.* But I see not how in all these proceedings they haue received any thing of that vvhich they call the office of a Bishop, except the Benefice and povver aboue single Presbyters.

Epaph. Three of the number vvent to England at their owne hand vvithout knowledge either of the Kirk, or of their owne Glascow Assemblie, and there received Consecration, the first step of their Hierarchie, vvhich after their returne they communicate to their associates. And last of all for setting them upon the top of the mast, vvhere they are yet fast a sleep: and for conclusion of this Perthian plot of questions, articles and vvhole building rising therupon, the Parliament holden at Edinburgh Iune 28 1617 enacted tvvo severall Statutes, one anent the Election of Archbishops and Bishops: another anent the restitution of Chapters.

Fist step, Consecration.

Sixt step, their Confirmation in Parliament.

Archipp. I haue often heard of the Protestators and protestation at that time. As ye gaue me great satisfaction by that graue and vvell backed protestation, vvhich marred the rouchie of their

first note at Perth, so I desire to know what was done against the sixt note, and highest step at Edinburgh.

Epaph. Perhaps yee haue seen maister *Maxwells* magisteriall maxims against the 53 Protestant preachers of Scotland. The truth is, the ministers present at that time to vvatch for the weale of the Kirk, being conveened vvith the Ministers of the town of Edinburgh, out of the consideration of present and imminent evils resolved upon this modest and generall forme of Protestation.

Protestation given in to the Parliament 1617.

Most gracious and dread Soveraigne; Most Honourable Lords and remanent Commissioners of this present Parliament: We the Ministers of Christ his Evangell, being here conveened from all parts of this your Majesties Kingdom, doe in all submission and reverence intreat your Majestie and Honours patient and favourable hearing of this our reasonable and humble supplication: And first it Will please your Highnes and Honourable Estates presently conveened, be informed, that We are heere a number of the Ministers out of all the parts of this Kingdome, & that the Bishops haue protested since our comming to a great many of us, that nothing should be agreed upon nor consented to by thē in this present Parliament, in matters concerning the holy Kirk, the discipline and order thereof Without our speciall knowledge and advise; affirming also that neither they nor We haue power of consent in any innovation or smallest change of the order of our Kirk established, Without speciall advice and determination of the generall Assembly, representing the bodie of the Kirk of the Kingdome had therunto. Whereupon We resting in securitie haue received now a suddaine report to our great astonishment, of an Article to passe in conclusion, & to receiue the force of a law in this present Parliamēt, decerning & declaring that your Maj. With advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and such a competent number of the Ministerie, as your Maj. out of your Wisedome shall thinke expedient, shall in all time comming haue full power to advise and conclude in all matters decent for the externall policie of the Kirk, not repugnant to the Word of God, and that such conclusions shall haue the strength and power of Ecclesiastical lawes. Wherin it Will please your Maj. and Honourable Estates to heare our just greeues, & consider our reasonable desire; and not to put us your Maj. humble & loving subjects to that poore and simple point of protestation; Which if remedie be not provided, We must be forced to use for the freedom of our Kirk, and discharge of our conscience.

Wee then first plead reformation and puritie in our Kirk, in doctrine, in ministration of the Sacraments, in discipline and all convenient order With the best reformed kirks in Europe; Which may stand, and haue been acknowledged rather as a pattern to be followed of others, then that We should seeke our reformation from any, that never attained to that perfection, Which in the mercie of God this long time bygone under your High. We haue enjoyed, and are able by reason to maintain the same.

Next

Next we plead the libertie of our kirk, which by the Lawes of your Majesties Kingdome, and diverse Acts of Parliament given forth in favour of the same, is established with power of publik meetings & general Assemblies, and allowance to make such Canons and Constitutions, as may serue for the comely order and decencie of the same, all which by this conclusion to be taken, must be utterly overthrown.

Thirdly, we plead for the peace and tranquilitie of our Kirk, that being neerest the Divine and Apostolicke Institution, hath lived without schism or rentings in it selfe, and by introduction of any noveltie not orderly, nor as appertaines, may be miserablie rent and our peace broken.

Fourthly, we haue been at divers times sufficiently secured from all suspicions of innovation, as by your Maj. letter the last Winter sent down to this Countrie to take away all feare of any alteration, which might arise upon your Maj lovingly intended journey; which letterly your Maj. speciall will, and direction of the specials of your Highnes councell is elswhere intimated in our Pulpits. As also by that Proclamation given out the 26 day of September 1605, when rumors of an intended conformitie with the kirk of England was spread abroad. Wherin your Maj. sufficiently avoided all such suspicion: And the hearts of all honest men settled themselues in a confidence, that no such thing should be attempted.

These and many other reasons haue moved us, in all reverence by this our humble Supplication to intreat your Highnes, & Honourable Estates not to suffer the forenamed Article, nor any other prejudicall to our libertie formerly granted, to passe at this time to the griefe & prejudice of this poore Kirk; wherby the universall joy of thousands of this land, who rejoyced at your Maj happy arriving here shalbe turned to mourning: Wherin as we are earnest supplicants to God to inclyne your Maj. hart this way, as the most expedient for the honour of God and the weal of the subjects, so if we shall be frustrated of this our reasonable desire, then doe we in all humilitie with that dutifull acknowledgment of our loyaltie to your Maj. as becomes, protest for our selues & al our brethren that shal adhear to our protestation, that as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incur the censure of your Maj. law, thē to admit or obtemper an impositiō that shall not fall frō the kirk orderly convened, hauing power of the same.

Archipp. The Ministers could say no lesse for defence of the liberties of the Kirk granted in former Parliaments; and for declaration of their present and purposed constancie.

Epaph. Albeit a protestation be a forme of defence, forbidden to no person neither by the law of God, of nature, or of man, nevertheless a heavy accusation & hard pursuit is intended against the Ministers of that protestation: and some of thē for their stedfast standing to the liberty of the Kirk put to high extremitie: But as sundry of the subscrivers of the first protestation at Perth, through ambitiō sought after the Prelacy, against which they then protested:

So

So a number of the first subscrivers of the second Protestation, at Edinburgh, vvere charged to compeire at Santandroes a few daies after, and through feare vvere moved at that time to repent themselues of their faithfull service done to the Kirk: and since haue practised and preached against their protestation, to their owne shame, the offence of their people, the sorrow of their deerest friends, advantage of the enemie, and no small hurt to the Kirk and cause of Religion.

Archipp. I perceiue that yee haue ever been protesting, and they ever proceeding, till that the unitie, authoritie, and order of the Kirk are quite destroyed, and the externall vvorship of God left naked vvithout a guard, readie to be a pray to every enemie.

Bitter fruits of the three former degrees of defection.

Epaph. The bitter fruits of the former alteration caries secret seeds of the following defection; the one side partly by terrours and allurements, crosses and commodities, banishment and benefices is in number diminished; and partly by paines, feares and expenses vvearied and vveakned. *Nec ultra pars senior ea tempestate rebuguare ausa, jam quoquo modo rebus finem imponere cupiens, Nam quidlibet audere atque agere facile erat maximorum amicitia subnixis.* The other, vvhat by revolters, and vvhat by Intrants daily increased and by svveet successe and frequent favours encouraged and made vvanton. Before that mysterie of Hierarchie was unvailed, distraction among the Ministers vvas judged to be the causes of the increase of superstition and Papistrie; the fyne pretence of so many Assemblies, but both the one and the other are as negligently passed as mightily increased since. What the Kirk of Christ hath lossed, as much hath Antichrist gained; he needs not to feare the fead of Discipline and Kirk Assemblies, nor the ancient unitie of vigilant Pastors, for by the Circæan cup of this mightie mutation the face of matters, and fashions of men are so metamorphosed, that perhaps you shall find, that he vvho loved you best and hated the adversaries and corrupters of Religion most, is changed quite from himselfe, and scarsly can ye know your old friend now walking in his new cut: our *old one heart* is now *either heart and heart*, or else *no heart at all.* We vvere vvont to close up our great controversies vvith heartie harmonie: now in common matters we hirsp like harp and harrovv. For libertie is slaverie; for mutuall honour, pride and contempt, the spirituall service of the Gospell is left for the affaires of this life, for Kirk Assemblies are Episcopall Courts for friends comfortlesse and against enemies awlesse. If there yee seek reason, yee shall haue vvill: and if you say Brother, my Lord smiles, and yet fretts at you as a Disciple of the old discipline, and a despiser of the new domination: for reasoning and graue deliberation in weightiest mat-

matters you shall haue a dash of artificiall voting, like *Alexanders* sword upon *Gordius* knot: yea, in a point of Religion if they cannot perswade you, they vvill surely usurpe over your conscience. Papistrie, blasphemie, breach of the Saboath, contempt of the Gospell, mocking add puritanizing of faithfull Ministers, and reformed professors are rather passed as a merriment, or prayſed by a smile, then represſed and punished as crying transgressions: he that refraines makes himselfe a prey, and he that will not follow the droue like the beasts of the field is the proud mans earth vvherupon he trampes, and must haue readie shoulders for a load of injuries; and if he be not servile in imitation, like waxe to perswasions, and witty to vvrong himselfe, he must learn to bear contentment and extremities in one minde. Thus Christ tryeth his own Kirk; Antichrist hath escaped vvith his crueltie and treacherie, and hath gotten as many yeares of peace to prepare his last onset by subtiltie, as the Kirk hath of troubles to make her preparations against his battels. He is shamelesse and insolent in his strength as he apprehends that he is not affrayed to exsult with the cryes of victorie before the battell: And notwithstanding of his incurable crueltie, some of the Pastors and professors of Religion, by banishments, imprisonements, confinings, fear of pursute, reproaches, calumnies, and all sort of contempt are so extenuate, that the pitie of their case is no lesse pearcing, then their faithfull labours in the Ministerie haue been profitable: Others so drunken vvith the deceiueable favours of the time, that their care to bee great eateth up their paines to doe good. And if there be a third sort free of fear and folly, and zealous in Religion, their hearts are pulled down to behold the miseries of poor men, vvho faine vvould doe vvell, but are wickedly abused, and the pride of idle men, vvho pay the debt of their calling by their nodd of Conformity to be admired, as the Prophets of Ierusalem and the pillars of the Kirk.

Archipp. Your just complaints of the former alteration, albeit there were no vvorse to follow, doe cry, that it is more then time that the strong men set up, and sitting on high, *Vt os Iehouæ* should set themselues to seek the Lord, and say to their brethren, *Come neere We pray you to us; Let us seek the God of our fathers and the ancient way of our peace. We haue fallen out, but let there bee no more strife between you and us: We are brethren and debters to God and his people, that We should earnestly contend for the maintenance of the faith once giuen to the Saints. Wherefore Were We borne to see the destruction of our people and the destruction of our holy Citie, and thus to sit still, till it be deliuered into the hands of strangers, to bee deuoured by the sword of sworn enemies, that as her glorie had been great,*

so might her dishonour and her excellencie be turned into sorrow. Let us be zealous of the Law, and giue our liues for the covenant of our fathers, for by it We shall obtaine glorie.

Epaph. Yet the verie teares of Gods people for the common miseries of the Kirk will feed the furie of such incendiares, as make their own particulars their highest projects: The wicked will still doe wickedly. As the Bishops of Rome after their advancement were not satisfied vvith the two uncouth Tragedies of *Bellum sacrum* and *Bellum Pontificium*, wherewith they filled the world with bloud, and troad all secular powers under their feet: but must also, vvhich is vvorse, deprave Gods worship, and in place of the Ordinances of Christ establish their own Traditions, vvherein they proceeded so farre, till they came to the manifest contradiction of Christs own legacie in the Sacrament, by that horrible clause of *Non obstante* expressed in their act, *Notwithstanding that Christ institute* &c. So our Prelats after their preferment, not resting content with the destruction of the unitie, authoritie and order of the Kirk, nor with their precedencie before the Peeres of the Kingdome, and power over all the subjects, must make an on set upon the vvorship of God, esteemed the substantiall and fundamentall part of our profession; so long as the other vvhich vvas called the circumstantiall part was in question: but now being once controverted, judged as indifferent and alterable as the other was before; and being inspired with the sprit of Desolation by promises and threatnings working in their soules, feare of losse, faith, hope, and loue of worldly commoditie, in stead of Theologicall vertues, they resolue to proceed in the course of defection till they haue come in effect to the clause *Non obstante* in the Sacrament, *Notwithstanding the institution and example of Christ.*

Fourth degree of defection in the worship of God.

Archipp. Yee haue brought me to the fourth maine degree of defection concerning the vvorship of God, wherein I vvould see the severall steps, and upon what part the first assault vvas made.

Epaph. Neither they, nor I can tell vvhere they vvill ariue, but resoluing to try a stormie sea in despite of shipwrack, for better sport to the Papists, for further disgrace to the reformation of Religion, for loosing all, and for the more easie fishing in troubled waters, The famous Confession of Faith vvell known and commended at home and abroad, the formes of prayer publickly used in the Congregations and Families of Scotland, must be cast in a new mould; But by some providence these new faces haue been kept close since the generall Assemblie holden at Aberdeen, the 13 day of August 1616; vvhere some opposition being made to that needlesse and hurtfull change, & to the formes

Aberdeen Assembly.

there

there presented, they vvere set over to further deliberation, but of such a commission, vvhose designes vvhen time requires will finde favour to speed vvel.

Archipp. But I heare no mention of the fiue Articles in that Assembly.

Epaph. Albeit it vvas layd to the charge of the Prelats, that it was high time for them to render the fruits of the paines and charges bestowed upon their exaltation &c. which the clerke vvas forbidden to reade. And albeit lineaments vvere drawn for Confirmation, and for holy daies, by enjoyning the Communion at Pash; yet the proceedings of that Assemblie gaue greater provocation then contentment: As the recantations of some Subscrivers of the protestation at Edinburgh, and the dissipation of the rest, like the stragglers of an armie put to the rout, through rigorous censure of others, who proved constant, gaue greater hope then distrust of better speed: And therefore unto a naked handfull sick of feare and suspicions, the fiue Articles vvere offered, vvhich vvere likely to draw down the Sacraments and the Saboath from their honourable estimation, as the 13 Articles of Perth vvere powerfull to divide the Ministerie, cassire the Assemblies, and nullifie the vvhole Iurisdiction and libertie of the Kirk. The peeping answer returned to the first motion of these Articles giving hope to prevaile, drawes on vvith posthast a generall Assembly to bee kept at Santandroes the 25 of November 1617: Where the said Articles were in a sort proponed, but neither considered in themselues as points of divinity, true or false, erronious or orthodoxe; nor how they might stand in our reformation vvithout infamie of our profession, and scandall of our professors. By reason of the shortnesse of time, suddaine convening of the Assemblie, and absence of six vvhole Dioces besides the Commissioners and best enformed sort of sundry Presbyteries, matters were remitted to further diligence, rather then any thing perfectly concluded.

Assemblie at Santandroes.

Archipp. Had the diligence bene used and paines taken at that time before the conclusion of Articles vvhich hath been aboundant since, they might haue been perhaps holden off, and the Kirk yet free of their fasherie.

Epaph. But the masters of that credite gaue forth that after that Assemblie the Kirk would never be favoured in our daies with liberty to meet again in a generall: which as it vvas a prettie pollicie, speaking fully of the dischage of the ancient Generall Assemblies, but lisping for one of the new edition; so was it a meane to make the credulous Ministers inclining to peace rather then contentious disputation, the more secure and lesse carefull

to search the good and evill, and to see the course of that plot dressed up in fined articles. In the meane time they are surprised with the suddaine proclamation of a Convention to be holden at Perth August 25 1618.

Perth Assembly.

Archipp. Albeit I haue heard and reade much of that Meeting, yet I desire to heare your observation concerning the principall Actors, the proceeding and conclusion thereof.

Epaph. The meeting vvas more then ordinarie, made up of Noblemen, Statesmen, Barons and Burgesses powed out for the purpose, vvith the splendor of their greatnesse to dash and deface such simple and modest Ministers and Commissioners as were loath to admit any noveltie in the vvorship of God, wherof they vvere not fully perswaded in their own mind. Amongst the deliberate and mightie in those purposes vvere to be found, some, it may be, taking that golden occasion to remember the proceedings of the Kirk of old against superstition and proud attempts, as injuries done against them or some of their neere and deere friends; some to shew their resolution to please, in despite of whatsoever to be said or done; some began to practise those Articles before they went to Perth, but vvith as great griefe to their own flocks as they little regarded to offend them: and many so their own friends, and set for their own particulars, that they vvere led rather vvith hopes of gaine and pleasure for themselues then vvith Religion for Religion. In big vvords the cõmon cause vvas professed of all; but there was more heat in the pursute of what vvas liked, then patience to consult with reason anent the bringing again into the practise ofGods worship of certain ceremonies advisedly cast forth, and happily holden without, for the space of many bygone yeares. In the proceedings, how violently matters vvere carried, God, the conscience of the mightie and vvise, and such indifferent beholders as vvere present, are vvitnesses. The particulars are to be seen in the nullitie and antinullitie of that Assemblie so much tossed betwixt an adversarie to Novellists, and the advocate of Novelties, in the answer to gentle *Iohn Mitchelsones* polemickes and other Treatises of that subject. In end, although costly vvits projected that course, yet so strait vvas the vvay to conclusion, that the pleasing of superiour powers was pretended with promise never to urge obedience: no censure durst be touched against Contraveners nor Statutes made against the golden rule, *Try all things, and keep that which is good:* a soveraigne preservatiue against defection, and a deadly dittae against *Ecebolius*.

Archipp. Such a conclusion made by such persons upon such proceedings is no strange thing; But obedience unto a conclusion

of

of that qualitie against so many bands of conscience, and so long practise, seemeth a matter more strange.

Epaph. Ye cannot be ignorant what the obedience and what the opposition was, for the space of three yeares after; notwithstanding of so many assayes to bring on the practise, till at last in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh in the moneth of August 1621, there is a law made for the ratification of the fiue Articles; but without the sting of compulsion, and as free of penaltie as the constitution of Perth meeting was voyd of sanction and censure. What civill obedience shall be given to that Ecclesiasticall constitution for respect to the law, time will proue, and they know best, who resolue to bee Christians according to the act of Parliament.

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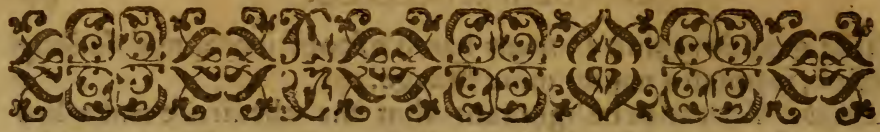

THE COURSE OF CONFORMITIE, AS IT IS CONCLUDED in the last Parliament, *Anno 1621.*

Archippus.

Second demand concerning the parliament.

YOV are now vvhere I would haue you, and vvhere my second demand proponed in the beginning, desired to bring you. As ye haue led me through a long labyrinth, and many secret vvayes of defection, to the beginning of that parliament; so I beseech you wearie not to lead me to the end thereof, that I may know what I am bound to do by vertue of that act, in the presence of God: for according to his acts I desire to be professor and pastor both.

Satisfied in 3 particulars.

Epaph. Remembring for preface my premonition in the beginning, I will first shew you the introduction to the Parliament, concerning certaine preparations for dressing the five articles for the parliament, and the Parliament for them. Secondly the, parliamentarie proceedings, and paines taken in time of Parliament for their ratification, untill the inacting of the statute it selfe. Thirdly, some memorable and rare events falling forth at that time by his providence, vvho beholdeth from heauen the actions of men; and at extraordinary times leaves not himselfe vvithout an extraordinary vvitnesse.

1. Preparation for the parliament.

Qui aduersus multos bellū gerunt, eos superare possunt quamuis viribus inferiores sint, si modo sustinere queant primum impetum.

Archip. The delay of time vvas an introduction of it selfe according to the Florentines policie. The first brash of a multitude is ever strongest, and time vvorketh. But vvhat were the particular preparations?

Epaph. After their conception and pressing towards the wombe at Aberdein, Saintandrowes, and before, their birth followed at Perth, and begat some lovers. Afterward they gat the favourable names of the kings service and conformitie; and vvere carefully fostered by a rumour that the learned and wise of the land is for them, that the people would gladly embrace them, and to them

vvas

vvas tied all peace and quietnes.

Archip. That had been a ſtrong argument indeed in the ſchoole of common-wits, if it vvould goe on this forme. Our fathers did it, our Princes gave us leaue, and our Prophets defended it.

Multi perciuunt ut grandines, pot ntes ut ;ilmina.

Epaph. But this yong conformitie vvanting ſuch authoritie, came little ſpeed at Preſbyteries and Paroches. Her cauſe then was pleaded firſt in the court of Facilitie. The Biſhops did convene their Synodals, and there the blaſt of conformitie vvas raiſed with all inforcements of terror; And of the fearfull ſort of *Gedeons* army, ſome were moved to promiſe at leaſt the practiſe of conformitie contrary to their own vote at Perth, and others miſtaken in their modeſt ſilence, as conſenting to the courſe. Next, in the tranſcendent court of Extremitie, the high commiſſion did convene, and as it pleaſed them to make choyce, faithfull paſtors vvere drawn before them; and contrary to all order and law of this kirk and kingdome, ſummarily ſilenced and confined. By theſe preparatorie aſſayes many were induced to call evill good, by ſpeaking for it, by not ſpeaking againſt it, by defending it as they were doers of it; and a buſie ſort defending it in others which as yet they had not done themſelves. By ſuch proceedings ſcandall and confuſion vvere mightily increaſed, The people did run from novelties at home to ſeek the ſacrament, where they might haue it according to the old forme. And although for covering this deformitie, and drawing the miniſters to the courſe intended, it was openly given out, that it was never meaned, that the people ſhould be compelled to alter that forme received and confirmed by law and long practiſe: yet ſo pregnant and piercing were theſe new formes, that many moe ſuſpected ſome hard event of theſe varied policies, then were throvghly perſuaded to change their profeſſion; But ſome readier way was found out to make diſciples of ſome Noble men and Borrowes, the earth vvas compaſſed, and ſundry were made but upon ſenſible coſt. When it was perceived to bee hard and difficile to get place for theſe ſtrange novelties in the worſhip of God, and in the paroches of this kingdome, without more helpe of the ſecular arme, the leaders of that imployment after great ſtormes grew calme for a Parliament.

Archip. But how was the matter brought to a Parliament?

Epaph. The skill vvas to catch a fit opportunitie, and a ſtrong occaſion vvas offered by the ſeeking of a voluntarie ſupply for the afflicted ſtate of Bohemia; vvhen the Nobilitie and others were aſſembled for that buſiness, it was reſolved, that the generall contribution of the Lieges would bee more honourable for the countrey, and fitting for that worthy cauſe, and for preſenting their overture, choyce was made of the Biſhop of Saintandrowes, who

Ad res geroendas ſemper temporum occaſions excitare inuetiq. aperiere. Machavel.

went

vvent to Court in the midst of a winter storme, and persuaded the refusall of the voluntary contribution, and delay for a time to bee good service. And having obtained libertie for holding a Parliament, came speedily home againe with greater ioy to such as sent him, then appearance of timous ayd to the state distressed.

Archip. That was too strike under cover *a Bastinado de bombaso.*

Epaph. After that the deeps betwixt the two rockes of highest displeasure and popular indignation were tried; the peoples disposition and opinion founded, they greedily grip the wished oportunitie of that charitable supply so vniversally liked: finally, all meanes and men being fervently disposed, set on edge and in readines and promises passed for hope of good successe in this principall earthly desire. This parliament so long delayed, and as long desired, with all solemnities of state is proclaimed at the market crosse of Edinburgh.

Archip. You are now drawing towards the second poynt, which I cannot well take vp, except ye give me the tenor of the proclamation as best expressing the causes of that honorable meeting.

Epaph. Lest you or I either should be mistaken, behold the true copie thereof.

Proclamacion of the Parliament.

IAMES *by the grace of God, King of great Britaine, France and Ireland, defender of the faith.*

Forasmuch as We know Well, that the happinesse, strength and glory of a Monarchy free from tyranny and confusion, is builded upon the mutuall loue betwixt the king and his subiects, expressed by the one in a fatherly care to maintaine his countries in a secure peace, flouishing With religion and iustice, and by the others in a loyall and submissiue obedience to their Princes Will and commandement, accompanied With a heartie and affectioned offering of all supply and ayd to the vpholding and increase of his estate and honour With their goods and bodies. Which reciprocall bonds (as laydin by nature and birth upon king and people) albeit no new contract can tie or shake off, yet are they With solemnitie in a sort renewed at the Assemblies of Parliaments, Wherein the subiects according to the occurrent necessities of the Princes affaires, offer to him their best supply and helpe, and hee returneth to them satisfaction and ease of their just grievances, pardons for transgression of the lawes, ratifications and acts in favours of particular persons, estates, and corporations, With the establishment of such new lawes as the time doth require. And Wee having now appointed a Parliament in our kingdome of Scotland to be holden and begin vpon the first day of Iune next, Wherein as the importance and necessitie of our adoes giveth us just hope for to looke for a supply to bee granted to us by our subjects in our sayd kingdome in a greater measure then hath been at any time heretofore, So are We most Willing, that they should haue all contentment in having either generall lawes or particular

acts

acts authorized by our royall consent, which being ripely advised, shall bee found expedient to passe. But because our long experience hath taught us, how that divers persons partly by ignorance, and partly by fraud, are accustomed, presuming upon the short time of the sitting of our Parliament, to giue in many billes and articles to those, who are appointed to sit upon the same, conteining matter preiudiciall to our crowne, or other our good subiects, which shortnes of time, and multitude of businesse permitteth not to be so narrowly examined, as need were. And for this cause we haue appointed a certaine number of our counsell to meet some dayes before the sayd parliament, and to consider of all billes, petitions and articles, which shall be exhibit to them by our Clerk of Register. Therefore our will and pleasure is, that all such, as intend to giue in any articles to be past in this approching Parliament, deliver the same to our Clerk of Register before the twentie day of May next, Otherwise the same shall not bee receiued, read, nor voted in our sayd parliament, except the same be past under our owne hand. And that yee make publication hereof at the market crosse of our Burgh of Edinburgh, to the end that none of our subiects pretend ignorance. Given at our palace at Westminster the 21 of Aprill 1621.

Archip Was there no further done for convocation?

Epaph. Missiue letters and precepts were directed according to the ordinary custome from his Maiesties Counsell, to all Noblemen of the land, Marquises, Earles, Vicounts, Lords, Barons, Commissioners of Shires, Bishops and Burrowes.

Archip. I see not a word in the proclamation of the five Articles, and I see a faire occasion offered to the kirk or any of her members to give in their petitions according to their feares or desires.

Epaph. The cover of the subsidie will not let you see them, grope rather, *Videndi facultas omnes attingit, attrectandi vero paucos dunaxat*, Machiavel. What was done in the petition yee shall see. The corporations of the kingdome in privat persons, as they had their publick or privat affaires to be done in Parliament, as they were wakened and warned by this occasion, according to their customable priviledges appointed and kept their ordinary meetings, for preparing their petitions and articles to be timously presented according to the wil of the proclamation. But a necessarie corporation, & divers ministers and members thereof under great necessities and need of support from the compassionat hands of that high and honourable meeting, being deprived not onely of the ancient vigorous generall assembly, but of the weak image thereof, and in that respect of wonted order and Councell for preparing their desires, and authorizing commissioners to present the same, was left unrespected and desolate.

Archip. Yet his Maiesties proclamation not onely permitting, but inviting, and the concurrence of so many weightie causes inforcing, as the great growth of corruptions, boldnesse of Papists, and increase of Papistry rather plaistered then punished, and the distractions of the Kirke now turned into persecution of the Ministers, and grievous offence of the faithfull professors like a fire devouring and wasting all vnitie, order, and brotherly kindnesse, with no small danger to the state of religion, the ministers of dutie ought, and without wrong or offence to any, might haue presented their humble petion.

Chien échaudé craint l'eau froide.

Epaph. Ye may guesse at the difficultie of that dutie by your owne disposition and retirednes at that time; yet it pleased the Lord to move the ministers in most quiet and peaceable maner to joyne their hearts and hands in this forme of supplication.

Supplication presented to the Parliament in name of the Kirk.

May it please your Honours in this present Parliament assembled under the high and excellent Maiestie of our deare and dread Soveraigne, to accept and consider the humble petition of your wearied and broken hearted Brethren, Ministers and people, oblieged under higher paines then losse of life, libertie, goods and fame, for Sions sake not to hold their tongue, but to call and cry to the God of Heaven, and the gods of the earth, that peace may be within her walles, and prosperitie within her palaces.

ALthough it were more expedient to weepe then to say ought, when we see the Lords armie disordered, his companie broken, and in the chock betwixt Christian and Turke, Protestant and Papist, some of his worthies put from their places, and others turned, if not to the enemies campe, yet labouring for his cause. Neverthelesse having this happy occasion of his Highnesse fatherly care, providence, and inclination to distribute iustice and mercie among his Maiesties people, to whom by right pertaines the worthy comforts and advantages, which the King of Kings hath inclosed in his Royall scepter, to bee delivered forth and disposed according to the occasions presented, and the reciprocall consideration in his Highnesse late proclamation expressed, as also of this high Court, and of your Honours compassionate intercession for our quietnesse and deliverance from injuries alreadie felt, and further feared, wee are even forced to speake, though not as Tertullus, *or they who care not for the losse of much inward peace of their soules and consciences, so that they may gaine their supposed victorie. Yet holding our selves within the bounds of that Christian moderation, which followes God without iniurie done to any man, It is not beseeming our ministeriall calling to secret the truth*

truth whereof wee are persuaded: and by a cowardly kinde of silence, and truthlesse modestie to betray a good cause. As touching our owne grievances, and others concerning our selves, wee have locked up our hearts with patience, and our lippes with taciturnitie, rather then wee should impeshe your Honours at this time with our just complaints of wronged innocencie, by so many great reproches, shamelesse calumnies of sedition, disobedience, hypocrites, sectaries, &c. Deprivations and rigorous practises inflicted upon some, as if wee alone had troubled Israel, by holding for suith these principles, and maintaining these opinions, whereupon Sebismatickes and Puritanes build their heresies and despise better then themselves: and for no other causes knowne to us, but for our constant care, as God hath dealt to every man his measure of faith to build the house of God, according to the lively paterne prescribed from his holy mountaine: our conformitie with the Kirk of Scotland and the best reformed kirkes of other Countries, and our loyall obedience to his Majesties lawes, declaring and approving the true Kirke, the true members and Ministers thereof, and the doctrine, sacraments and discipline to bee ministred and professed within the same. As for the vehement outcries against our cause, and the sundry foule matters layd to our charge in word and writ, wee passe them all as swines flesh dressed after a divers fashion; and wee looke for equall hearing at your Honours hands, and for Pauls *libertie from King* Agrippa: Thou art permitted to speake for thy selfe *In this confidence of our good cause, and persuasion of your Honours love to the truth knowne by yourselves, wee preasse not to offend any, but being provoked to defend our selves, leaving to the Lord, who shall iudge the quick and the dead, to persuade them that have their eyes upon us unpartially to iudge our labours in the ministerie for the true religion, and against the enemies and adversaries therof, our harmlesse conversation and blamelesse, as it pleases the Lord to assist us under our infirmities; The reasons whereby wee are upholden in our course and protestations, and iust defence against the oppositions intended, are all made patent to the eyes of the world, no meyes to lay open the nakednesse of our mother to the scandall of the enemie, or justly to offend any otherwayes minded; but that the multitude of our professors bee not tainted with the venome of malitiousnesse, contrary to the sincere milke which they have received by a swift running speat of humane eloquence, more fitting to deceive the eare, then to worke grace in the heart. If occasing were forborne, wee should desist from speaking. If the sword of pursuite were put up, wee could bee soone discharged of our buckler. But being pursued, if wee defend not, wee die with shame, and are guilty of our owne overthrow.*

The praise of all paines wisely taken, the steppe of all callings, and crowne of commendable sufferings, is to doe and suffer in the causes of Christs spouse, and for the maintenance of the salvation of our own soules, That one thing we cannot suppresse, our hearts desire to haue, and hold religion in libertie and puritie. And for that effect, better like of the single forme of policie in the Kirk of Scotland, and the reformed kirkes in other Countries; then the many Ceremonies retained by some. Yea loue and feare compelleth vs to put your Honours in minde, that as it hath been in all ages the holy disposition, and happy practise of all Gods people, to set continually before their eyes, his inestimable goodnesse towards his Kirke, her case and condition in her militarie troubles, and in consideration of the one and the other dutie, required and exspected at your hands, wherethrough in the riches of Gods mercies, they haue been safe from that dreadfull ruine that hath iustly overtaken the carelesse and the wicked, So now in time of dangerous distraction it would please your Honours to set before your eyes, how wonderfully the Lords loue and rich grace hath been powred upon his Kirk in this nation, and by the meanes of religion vpon our gracious Soveraigne, your Honours auncestors of blessed memorie, your selves, your friends, and upon this estate, the present estate of such a loving mother, crying in her bloody distresses for helpe at your hands, And in regard of blessings abundantly received in the dayes of her libertie and health, what is due from your son-like affections, places of credit, and honourable callings in your high conventions, where God stands in the assembly of Gods, high iudges among the Gods to your well-deserving mother, in whose wombe wee were conceived, and brought up on her knees to the condition wherein we now stand at ease and peace in the dayes of her distresse. Our humble petition to your Honours is, that as yee respect the glorie of Christs kingdome to be continued in this land, the adorning of his Maiesties crowne, and the quietnesse of his loving and loyall subiects, the endlesse prayse of your selves, and the flourishing of your Honourable estates with the particular comfort of so many ministers and congregations within this Realme. This poore Kirk in the day of her teares, griefe and feare, by your timous intercession at his Maiesties hands, (and the Lord give you favour in the presence of the King) and your uttermost indeavours debtfull to Gods honour, and Christs kirk in this happy occasion now presented, may obtaine in this parliament her most reasonable desires.

A sufficient and ready execution of former acts of Parliament made against the fearfull blasphemy of Gods name, profaning of the Lords day, and contempt of his Sanctuarie and service so vniversally over-flowing in this land, not onely in the persons of poore ignorants,

in

in a manner tyed to these horrible crimes by a cursed custome and beggarly necessitie, but even in the more honourable sort, whose damnable example encourages their followers to sinne without fear, with such additions as may represse and restraine these crying abominations in all, without respect of persons.

A safe libertie to enjoy the profession of our Religion, as it is reformed in doctrine, Sacraments and discipline, and hath been openly professed, sworne and practised by Prince, Pastors, and people of all rankes; your predecessors of worthy memorie, your selues, and wee all yet living these threescore yeares bygone and aboue.

A full deliverance from, and a sufficient defence against all novations and novelties in doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline, and specially such, as by constitutions of the Kirk, confessions of faith, liberall Lawes of the Countrie, Oathes and Subscriptions, and long continued practise, hath been condemned and cast out, as idle rites aud Romish formalties, under whatsoever pretence they plead for re-entrie.

That no Act passe in derogation or prejudice of the Actes alreadie granted in favour of reformation, libertie of Assemblies, convenient execution of Discipline &c. or for corroboration of new opinions against the same, whether Episcopacie, or ceremonies the shadow thereof, which for the peace of the Kirk by heavenly wisedome should be rejected rather then ratified.

That all Ministers that are removed from their Charges, be restored to their places, functions, and stipends.

The happines to liue under his Majestie and his Heires, ordinary Iudges, and Rulers appointed by lawes and custome, and established by the Actes of Parliament, that our cause be lawfully cognosced according to order and justice, before any sentence passe against our persons, places and estates: and not to be judged by any judicatorie forraigne, and not established by the Lawes of our Country.

We trust that as Abraham *composed the variance betwixt his own and* Lots *servants,* Moses *interceded betwixt the Hebrews, and* Constantine *betwixt the Ministers of the Kirk: So the Lord shall giue you courage to intercede with his Majestie and his Highnesse fatherly disposition, to set the pillars of the earth that were shaken, and to take off the heavie burthens, the burthensome ceremonies, the burthensome censures, and the burthenous abuses which many haue groaned under: And with a readie and royall hand to quench the beginning fire of deprivation of Ministers by Ministers, of hindring Gods substantiall worship by him commanded, and withdrawing from the people the appointed food of their soules, and necessarie meanes of their faith and salvation: of smiting of many a true shepheard, and committing the flocke to many Wolues and blind guides: of leaving the Papists cause, and suppressing*

the best Ministers, whereby they get rest to mischeife the Kirk, and build up their own Synagogue, and that for the sake of Ceremonies, no more necessarie for the spouse of Christ, then fairding for a chast matron, more readie to crosse the commandement of Christ, wherby we are charged to pray to the Lord of the Harvest, that he would thrust forth labourers into his Harvest, then for the edification of the body of Christ. Thus humbly cōmending the innocencie of our selues petitioners, and our just right and possession of that reformation which we earnestly craue to be continued to your Honourable charitable judgement; We pray God for Christs sake to enable you to doe that, which may be acceptable to himself, profitable to his Kirk, and comfortable to your own soules, at that day when we must all appeare before the judgement seat of Christ, that man may receiue the things which are done to his bodie, according to that hee hath done, whether it be good or ill: and to blesse his Maj. and Royall issue with peace and truth for ever: And your Honours with sound Religion and loyaltie in this life, and endlesse glorie with Christ for ever.

Archipp. The supplication seemeth so reasonable and religious that no man needed to be ashamed to present it, no man could refuse to accept it.

Epaph. It was indeed presented by a faithfull Minister in name of the Kirk, and of his fellow Ministers, in all humility and after the prescribed order, to the hand appointed by Authority, and obliged by office to receiue petitions of that kind from any corporation, or free leige of this Kingdom. But after some refusals and sundry significations of unwillingnes, it was received at last, but subscribed by the Presenter, and with such mispregard of the messengers of God, and matters of his Kirk, that he plainly professed his doubting, whether he vvould exhibit it in Parliament or not. *Relegentem oportet esse religiosum nefas.*

Archipp. Notwithstanding all this diligence in proclamations, conventions, devising and presenting of petitions and supplications the Parliament was not holden then, but in August, what could be in doing in the two monthes interjected? For the estate of Boheme and the Palatinate abroad cryed to hasten the subsidie for their present succour and safety: And the Patents of Perth Articles at home, longed to see the day when that birth of their braines should be perfected in a Parliament.

Parliament continued.

Epaph. From the first of Iune, vvhich vvas the appointed day, the Parliament was continued to the twenty three of Iuly, upon what causes in so urgent a necessity upon the one part, and so earnest desire on the other, it belongeth to the search of stately wits. It is well known that the length of secret deliberation and shortnes of open determination is meetest for some matters. And as well known amongst us, that there vvas als great unwillingnesse to the

one cause, as affection to the other. But the pretext behoved to attend the intended purpose. And therefore, during this delay, great was the negotiation betwixt the rich Merchants of faire vvords and fine promises, and the hungry servants of lingring hope, who thought it now a fit time to draw up their particulars, and the principall cause in one bargaine, *What will yee giue me, &c. All these things &c.* Everie wit that had a venale vote, thought at this Market to repaire his losses, to re-edific his estate upon the ruines of the Kirk, and faire words made fooles faine. Our vigilant Bishops set themselues, and send forth their explorators and Brokers to try the inclinations of Noblemen, Commissioners of Shires, Barones and Burgesses: And as they were found affected, cold, hot or lukewarme, they vvere vvrought upon to bee present, absent, or to resolue vvisely against the day appointed, vvhereby many honest simple soules vvere put to a hard choice, either to perill Religion or to vvant promotion; and so made many to vvrong themselues in forsaking the truth, vvhich vvas in their heart, for hopes, vvhich are never likely to fill their hand. Where the feare of the Leaders of the course vvas greatest, there, albeit vvith a dissembled secrecie greatest confidence vvas professed, by making it come to mens eares privily, that Perth Articles vvould certainly bee ratified, and therefore it vvas needlesse to oppone, vvhich vvent through the Countrie as a Proclamation of victorie to dash some, and as terrours of desperation to make others to crie, *Our opposition will doe us evill, and the cause no good.* And servile spirits to determine, *Where the mightie, and multitude are, there will wee bee.* By this crooked policie the sillie simplicitie of many professours rawly resolved to stand in the day of tryall vvas deluded. And Noblemen tempted to lurke in a difficill time, easily obtained licence vvithout great triall of a just cause, as vvhose absence then presence vvas accounted better service.

Nihil magis discriminis cõsilis tam inimicum quam celeritas.

Quæ quid est incoctum non exprimunt, bene coctum deuorant.

Nõ minus ego te spe, quam tu me voce tua delectasti.

Archipp. When these two moneths of Preparation vvas thus past, and the purpose matured, vvhether vvas the appointed day observed.

Epaph. As there vvere preparatorie years betwixt Perth Assembly and the Proclamation, and preparatorie moneths betwixt the moneths appointed in the Proclamation and the keeping of the Parliament; so also that the proportion may be full, there were daies of preparation betwixt the day appointed and the riding of the Parliament.

Archipp Know ye vvhat vvas done in that last time of preparation immediatly going before the work it selfe.

Epaph.

Epaph. Albeit it was not the first, it was not the last: After the long expected comming of his Majesties Commissioner *Iames Marquesse* of Hammilton, vvho upon the 18 of Iulie, fiue daies before the appointed day of the Parliament, was accompanied vvith divers of the Nobilitie, and some of his own friends (but not so many as would haue vvaited on him vvillingly in a better errand) to Halyroodehouse his Majesties owne palace prepared royally for the Commissioner, according to the affection carried to the commission; a great part of the Nobilitie having feasted withhim that night, upon the morne the 15 of Iulie, he had his first meeting in private with the Officers of Estate, and Plot-maisters of Perth Assembly, vvhere according to their loue to the conclusion and feare of impediments, all their heads were set on vvork for the fore-casting, preventing, or removing opposition and purchasing the victorie: Vpon the 20 day there was an universall Counsell meeting, vvhere all things for peaceable resorting to the Parliament were concluded, and the day destinate prorogated from Monday the 23 till Wednesday the 25, that they might yet once againe assay the foord, fill up holes, and remoue rolling stones before the riding.

Archip. Ye tell me of great preparation against the Kirk upon worldly respects on the one side, but I heare of no diligence for the Kirk upon better considerations on the other: In that troublesome time of the vvorld so dangerous for Kirkes, Kingdomes and Common-weales, vvherein all vvits and hearts vvere aloft, and every minde of friend and foe, as he respected the publick estate or his own parricular, vvas bended for his own intention: It seemes ye and others of credit in the Ministerie should not haue been negligent, but at least should haue backed your own supplication, and waited upon the occasions of doing good.

Epaph. Not onely Noblemen, Comissioners of Shriefdomes, Bishops and Burrowes vvere present, but from all the quarters of the Countrie, according to the common libertie so many of the free Lieges of the land, as had to doe in that highest Court. And amongst them multitudes of Ministers, some to be idle beholders of the celebritie, others vvith greater desire of the ratification of their own erronious facilitie, then of the puritie of Gods worship and reformation of the Kirk, Papists of both sorts Iesuites and Dominicanes, vvise in their own generation: It had been a wonder then if there had not resorted thither a number of faithfull Ministers to doe their best Pastorall endevours for the liberty of the Kirk, and at least for manifesting to the after ages, that the truth vvas not altogether deserted to help to make up *Catalogum Testium veritatis.*

Archip.

Archib. Their intereſt was not meaneſt in the eyes of God, neither could that giue juſt offence to any perſon: his gracious Maj. never refuſed that libertie to any of his free ſubjects, nor to them at the laſt Parliament, vvhere he vvas preſent in proper perſon.

Epaph. Yet my Lord Commiſſioner, by ſuggeſtion of his vviſeſt counſel, ſearching the ſafeſt vvay for ſucceſſe, had learned that the preſence of the Miniſters might be verie prejudiciall to the ratification of Perth Articles; at leaſt might be a powerfull mean to ſtay many from giving their conſent to the making of ſuch a Law: & therfore, by their advice he findeth it verie ſpeedfull, that theſe Meſſengers of God be ſtraitly charged & commanded by opē proclamation at the Market croſſ to paſſe out of the town of Edin.

Archip. That ſeemeth to haue been but a boaſt for their more peaceable behaviour, or for preventing their dealing and ſuſpected Proteſtation; they vvere not called, let be convinced of any fault, and therfore could not be puniſhed vvith deprivation of that libertie, vvhich the verie law of nature yeeldeth, and vvas not denyed to the enemies of Religion and meaneſt of the ſubjects.

Epaph. Yet upon tueſday the 24 of Iuly, the letters vvere execute againſt them allanerly, among all the ſubjects of the Kingdome. Onely there was joyned at the ſame inſtant a Proclamation for bringing in *Allane Machonil Dou* chiefe of the Clancamron Laird of Lochaber known for a vvitch and ſorcerer, and declared to be an infamous murtherer, a rebell and deſpiſer of Authoritie: vvhereupon it vvas ordinarie in the mouthes of the people, that the Parliament could not end vvell, becauſe at the beginning therof, they vvere baniſhing God and bringing in the devill: But perhaps ye vvill be as incredulous, as that Papiſt who feared his fellow profeſſors in forrain parts ſhould be, upon the report of that proceeding againſt the paſtors of the Kirke; albeit your incredulitie & theirs ariſe upō diverſe grounds. Ye think it too evil to be true: they will thinke it too good to be true: for one of the Papiſts in the time of the riding of the Parliament burſted out upon the open ſtreet into theſe words with great exultation; *When I come to Rome and Avinjon to report how I haue heard the Miniſters of Scotland diſcharged out of Edinburgh by open proclamation at the Market croſſe in time of Parliament, the newes will be ſo joyfull, that ſcarſly will they bee beleeved by the Catholicks.*

Archip. All goethwrong, when they rejoyce vvho ſhould be made to weep, & they do weep who ſhould be made to rejoyce: with what colour of pretence could that uncouth proceeeding be plaiſtered. *Que vera [illegible] iniquitas, [illegible] in [illegible] regis [illegible].*

Epaph. He that would haue his dog fell'd will ſoon find a cudgel: One pretence vvas, their abſence from the charge of their flocks, wherof they are bound before God and man to be diligent O-r-

feers. God and the vworld knowes, whether they who used this pretence are carefull of the fidelity of Ministers: whether they or the other sort who were permitted to stay, wait better upon their vocation: and whether it was not a principall point of their charge to attend at such a time, wherin such matters were to be handled, as could not but fall under their own & their peoples practise in the ordinarie worship of God. Another was a shew of mitigation in the end of the Proclamation, excepting so many of the Ministers as might procure a warrant from a Bishop to stay still: that is to say (according to the Bishops own interpretation vvhen some craved leaue of thē) so many as would promise to make no interpellation, intercession private or publicke, nor protestation against their beloved articles, wherof they were so jealous. The third and sidest cloak was the twofold accusation of two brethren in the Ministerie, vvho vvere decerned by the Counsell to be patternes of extremitie and preparatiues of terrour to the rest.

Archip. What accusation meane yee, and of which Ministers?

Epaph. One was of Mr. *Androw Duncan* minister at Crail (but holden from the function of his Ministerie by the fine craft of a timorous tēporizer his cunning collegue, wrestling betwixt the wind of the world, & the waue of his conscience) for presenting the Supplication aboue written; who vvas sent for by the B. of S. androes, & detained by him in his lodging, till he delivered him to the Captain of the guard to be presented that same day afternoone before the Counsel, where compeiring he was accused by the Bishop upon his subscription of the supplication (albeit the B. had spokē nothing of that to him in private when he sent for him) & having acknowledged his hand writ, he declared his readines, at the command of the L. of Counsell, upon assignation of a competent time to produce his warrant of great numbers of Preachers and Professors, in whose name he had subscribed; subjoyning, for stopping the mouth of his accuser that *Cuivis privato licet agere causam publicam:* whereupon the B. giues out this sentence, It is thought good ye be committed presently. But because the Defender pleaded the poor mans right: *An non licet cuilibet protestari & mendicare,* The Lords not seeing how they could punish him for such causes, & liking better the innocency of the defender then the iniquity of the accuser, thought meet to cal him in again: where the B. *Vt quæ non prosunt singula multa juvent,* first layd to his charge that he had preached in Crail the vveek before, which he confessed: That hee was his Maj rebel lying at the Horn; he denyed that he was ever at the Horn: That he had broken ward in Dundie: he answered that for obedience he had remained at Dundie the space of half a year upon double charges, being separate from his vvife and six children, the approaching

Winter

Winter made him to draw homeward, thinking that either they had forgot him or would pitty him after so long trouble. Like as he had received a letter from the B. to be at Santand. at a meeting of some Brethren of the Ministers. In end he besought the L. not to imprisone him upon his own charge; & to consider that it vvere greater mercie to kill them vvith the bloudie sword, then to pine them to death vvith hunger. But his doom was dight before his cōpeirance.

Archip. What was the other accusation?

Epaph. Mr. *Alex. Simson* minister at Drieburgh, not having any such intention, was earnestly desired by a brother serving in one of the ordinary places of the Ministers of Edin. to preach for him upon the Saboath, vvhich was the 22 of Iuly immediately going before the day appointed for holding the Parliament. Wherunto he was perswaded upon sufficient reasons alledged by his requester. He Preached upon Ezech. 3. 16 according to his own custom & the present occasion, in the good old Scottish fashion, and not after the new Laodicean forme, more plainly to all then pleasantly to some, & in greater simplicie of heart then vvisedome of words. He spake against the manner of the entrie of many yong men into the holy calling of the Ministerie, against the negligence of watchmen, vvho because of the fear of men, of loue to the wages of iniquity, and their own guiltines of the same sin, are silent in censuring the sinnes of others, and especially against the defection of Bish. All which & much more spoken not in a corner, but in the publick audience of so great variety of hearers, as were in that town at that time, I need not record. Vpon the day next following he vvas called before the Counsell, and when he had confessed all that he had preached in publick: At last the former Minister and he vvere convoyed by the guard to the Cannongate, where they were forced to stay that night without libertie to goe to their own lodging place: and upon the morne were led by three of the guard to the Castle of Dunbartane, vvhere they entered upon Thursday Iuly 26.

Cāddie ἀνὴρ ἰδιόμματα ἢ ἰδιόμματα.

Archip. I see not how the proclamation could passe with any probabilitie against the whole Ministerie, more upon this pretence then the first: for by vvhat propagation could their personall actions be derived to the rest.

Epaph. Ye vvill know that best, and will be put out of all your doubts, when yee haue seene the Copie of the Proclamation it selfe in these vvords.

Proclamation charging the Ministers to depart out of Edinb.

AT Halyroode-house 23 Iulie 1621. *Forasmuch as it is understood by the Lords of secret Counsell that some rettlesse and busie persons of the Ministrie engrossing the care & charge of their own Kirkes and flocks, over the which they are bound in conscience before God, and in duetie before men to be careful & diligent Watchmen & Overseers*

haue lately made their redresse to this Burrow of Edinburgh, Where the Estates of the Kingdom in the soveraigne and high Court of Parliament are now assembled: and that some of their Ministers haue not onely engyred, and in a manner intruded themselues in the Pulpits thereof, without any lawfull Warrant or calling, but in stead of Wholesome doctrine for edification of the present Auditors, haue fallen out into most injurious and undutifull speeches against the sacred person of the Kings Maj. labouring thereby, so far as in them lay, to possesse the hearts of the Auditors with some bad opinion and construction of his Maj. unspotted life and conversation. And not content herewith, they haue their privie Conventicles and Meetings within this Burrow, haue obtruded themselues upon some of the Estates of Parliament, and in publick audience haue prejudged his Maj. most religious, sincere and lawfull proceedings, using sollicitations against his Maj. just intentions: And haue not onely directly manifestly and avouchedly done, what in them lyes, to cal the sincerritie of his Maj. disposition towards the true Religion in question, but to inculcate and fasten the same bad opinion into the hearts of his Maj. good subjects, and so crosse and hinder all his Maj. proceedings in the Parliament, which hath no other ayme but the glorie of God, puritie of Religion, and weale of this Kingdome. In which three points, the bypast experience of his Maj. happie governement will cleare the sincerity of his Maj. most religious disposition towards the glorie of God, and weale of his people, and will vindicate his Majestie from the malignant aspersions of his Majesties undutifull subjects. And whereas this forme of doing in a Kingdome, where the puritie of Religion hath such a free and uncontrouled libertie and progresse, as it hath in this Kingdome under his Majesties most godly, wise, just, and happie governement, is not suffred nor allowed and hath no warrant of law, custome nor observation elsewhere, but may draw with it many dangerous consequences, and raise up emulation, and distastes betwixt his Majestie and his good people to their danger and harme. Therfore the Lords of secret Counsell ordaining letters to be direct to command and charge the whole Ministers presently being in this Burrow, except the ordinarie Ministers of the Burrow, and such others, who upon the notorietie of their lawfull adoes heer, shall procure a warrant from their Ordinarie, and failing of him from one of the Archb. to remaine and abide still heer, by open Proclamation at the Market crosse of Edinb. to remoue & depart out of the said Borrow within 29 houres next after the said Charge: & that they onno wise presume to repair again thereunto during the time of this Parliament under pain of rebellion. And if they or any of them faile, the said space being bypast, to denounce & e. which denunciation to be used at the Market crosse of Edinburgh shalbe as sufficient, as if it were used at the market crosse of the head Burrow of the shire where they dwell: certifying them also that their denunciation they shall be taken, apprehended, warded and punished accordingly.

Archip.

Archip. That is more then ever I looked could haue proceeded from Christian authoritie professing the same reformed religion with us. It was a strong prognostick of great rigor against the persons of the Ministers, and of great preiudice to the cause of religion. What was the resolution of the Ministers?

Epaph. They could not stay against the proclamation; they could not altogether desert the cause in so desperate a time. And therefore finding, that the commissioners of Shires were sent for; and earnestly desired to make knowne their grievances with faire promises of satisfaction, a strong preparation to purge the great matter of all opposition: and that after assayes there was no hope of recalling of the rigor denounced against them; for obedience first to God, and next to God unto his Maiestie: they resolved as followeth.

WEE the Ministers of Iesus Christ in his Highnes kingdom of Scotland, being conuened from the quarters of the Country to concurre for the Weale of the Kirke, and according to the ancient custome thereof observed before in Parliaments, to consult upon weightie affaires, as the present case requireth consideration: and being charged at the market crosse of Edinburgh to remoue forth of the sayd Borrow within 29 houres immediatly following the sayd charge: as also justly fearing harder sequells to follow upon such beginnings, haue concluded according to the necessitie layd upon us, to leaue our informations and admonitions to the honorable Lords of Parliament, attesting them in the name of our Lord Iesus, to remember the labours and sufferings of their honorable predecessors: and to doe in the matters in hand, as they would be accepted at his glorious appearance: and praying to the Father of lights, to open their eyes, and to incline their hearts to try things that differ and approue things expedient.

Archip. Informations and admonitions good for them, cannot be evill for me and others: and who knoweth if being represented to them after so many sensible confirmations from heaven and earth, they consider of them more advisedly and unpartially: and so many as haue lost their first loue, remember from whence they are fallen, and doe their first workes.

Epaph. Some preposterously iudge of all reasons by the conclusion, and not of the conclusion by the reasons: others are so obstinatly set against al persuasion, that *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis.* And a third sort close their eyes and ears against all information: they fear that the light of their minde prejudge their affection: and they be made to beleeve that for true, which they wish were false: yet both for their sakes whose repentance wee are seeking, and for your owne and others whom we would confirme, behold some of the many then left behind us.

Reasons left by the ministerie to the members of parliament.

YOur Honors assembled in this present Parliament, ought to abstain frō ratification and all corroboration whatsoever of Perth Assembly, and Actes thereof, for the reasons following, and many moe alleaged, and to be produced, if your great adoes could permit.

1 *It is but an assembly single, and in it selfe divided.* 2. *in forme of proceeding not onely different from others, but directly against the order established by the kirk.* 3. *In effect contrarious to all generall and provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Sessions, as they are institute, and have been holden in Scotland since reformation of religion within the same.* 4. *The carried sentence and actes thereof are repugnant to the forme of religion received, beleeved, professed, established, and defended by this kirke, and whole body of this Realme, by your Honorable predecessors of worthy memorie, and your selues: and practised vniversally and in the severall paroches of this kingdome these sixtie yeares and aboue.* Non est a consuetudine recedendum facilè, nisi rationi adversetur; *much lesse from a known truth directed and blessed by God in such abundance of benefits as the land hath enioyed with religion No kirk Protestant nor Lutherane, nor of other profession, Papist, or whosoever wil go in a change without some evident (at least apparant) reason of the word. The change but of the old Calendar for the Popes new one (and that is but a small thing) made a great hurly-burly both at Riga in Livonia, and at Augusta.*

2 *Such ratification should crasse and directly preiudice the acts of Parliament* 1592 *and the provision expressed in the end of the act of Parliament,* 1597 *And all other acts set downe in favour of the iurisdiction of the kirk, libertie thereof, assemblies, and discipline. Item, his Maiesties proclamation published and printed at command of his Counsel* 1605. *Item, the protestation made at Perth,* 1606, *and all others made before and since. Item, the covenant made by the ministers and professors of this kingdome,* 1596 *and* 1597, *and all other bands, whereby Pastors and flockes haue oblished themselves in persons and continuall practise to stand to the forme of religion received and practised,* Tales legum mutationes would proue legum vulnera. Quæ in suo statu, eademque manent etsi deteriora sunt, tamen vtiliora sunt. Reipub. quam quæ per renovationem vel meliora inducuntur. *And with what credit and constancie could your Honors confirm separation from your fathers, and the break of ancient vnitie & conformitie with your own kirk, when it may be truely sayd.* Melius atq; rectius olim provisum, & quæ convertuntur, in deterius mutantur.

3 *The reformers of this kirk, and such as by a long continuance follow them, laid a sure foundation and builded upon the same without errour, notwithstanding of difficile times; It were our wisdome to go forward & not backward, to strengthen and not to weaken. David left not the Ark where Saul left it, nor Salomon where David. If our fathers were in the way, our change is errour and out of the way: And shall we say now, that*

our sound & ancient profession is priscus rigor, cui jam pares non sunt homines. *Constantines course was more commendable,* Perfecit Constantinus quod Philippus jam cæperat. *It were our duties, if our forebeears had done wrong to practise the rule,* Quæ illicita à Prædecessoribus inveniuntur admissa, in melius revocari oportet.

4 *Observation of days, kneeling, &c. as they are straitly enjoyned, are void of the necessarie properties required by the wisest fathers in a lawfull ceremony,* ut fidei congruat, saluti proficiat, disciplinæ conducat, *So in this kirk neither are they necessary, expedient, nor fitting the frame of our reformation: they edifie not, they divide and destroy, in so far as ceremonies being* testes religionis, *they are signes to the adversaries of the truth, that we repent our reformation, which is not, and presages to returne to their damned corruptions, which by the grace of God wee meane not in substance or ceremony. To reinduce them say the divines of Germany, is to disturbe the peace of the kirk, to grieve the godly, to wound the weak, to countenance Poperie, by shew of inclination towards it, or commoderation with it. In neighbour kirks, where they most prevaile, their removall is most earnestly sought.*

5 *In Perth assembly they are concluded not as lawes binding either to fault or pain, but as admonitions or institutions.* Magnum est discrimen inter ecclesiastica decreta & politica, quorum necesse est illa minus obstringere conscientias. Nam in ecclesiasticis spectanda est ἰσονομία. In politicis autē parendū est, quamvis tu eam eutaxiam non videas. *Such ceremonies are* juris privati non publici. *Ilk man is bound in conscience by the word first to discern what is indifferent, and then to direct himself in the right use of every individuall thing for his own edification: And if ministers and professors be restrained from that search, and brought under a compelled obedience by the law, that were to revive the ancient servitude of the Germaine Adiaphorists, wherewith the godly would never suffer themselves to be intangled.* Nulla lex sibi solam conscientiam justitiæ suæ debet, sed ijs a quibus obsequium exspectat.

6 *Our forebeears finding the controverted ceremonies to be the mousi-webs of Popery, & like the meadiworts in Thessaly, that overthew a whol towne,* Quod in Papatu dolendum, in reformatione auferendum putarent, *They not onely took away Baal, but the calves of Dan and Bethel. They thought it no wayes meet to follow Pilats policie to please the Iewes with scourging of Christ, that they might keep him alive. And will the Papist be pleased with scourging the doctrine by invectives, &c. And if king against some of these ceremonies, will thus preserve us against their heat breathed out against us as heretikes, and make us lurke under mitigation, as if we were now but schismatikes.* Non est ad hunc modum in religione agendum, (*saith one*) tota enim repurganda est & ad vivum emendanda. *And another saith:* Atqui præstaret solutam esse doctrinam ad tempus, quam sic flagellari.

It is to be feared, that before it be long, that men disaffected to the ancient order, shall further presume ere it be long, to giue out other doctrine as well as new ceremonies.

7 *Ratification would compasse a great many Ministers and professors of this Kirk between two dangerous straits; either to practise against the truth, as they vnderstand it, and haue walked in it, and against the personall bands, whereby they haue oblished themselues to stand constantly to the obedience of it, or else to fall under the breach of a civill law more hardly perhaps to be persued, then the lawes against heresie, blasphemie, breaking of the sibboth day, &c. In such a case as wee are alwayes ready in our goods and bodies to the increasing and upholding of his maiesties honour, and estate, so according to our possibilitie, and the occurrent necessitie of his Highnesse affaires, we cheerfully offer our best supplies and helpe. And for ease of our iust grievances, and feares of our Christian libertie from constraint of ceremonies, we humbly beg to haue returned ratification of our ancient liberties of religion. Ceremonies should bee persuaded by reason, and not inforced by compulsion.* Propter externos ritus disciplinæ homines pios ferire, neque domini est voluntas neque purioris Ecclesiæ mos. *In the name of the Lord Iesus wee require your Honours, that at this time ye walk in the matters of the kirk, as one day yee shall be iudged dutifull according to the Scriptures following: Beware of men, beware of evill workers. Let no man beguile you with entising words. Stand fast in the faith; quit you like men. Be strong. Stand fast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath made you free, and bee not intangled againe with the yoak of bondage. Hold fast the forme of sound words. That good thing which is committed unto thee, keepe. Contend earnestly for the faith which was once given to the Saints. Seing ye know these things before, beware lest yee fall from your owne stedfastnesse. Strengthen the things which remaine that are ready to die. Remember how thou hast received and heard. And hold fast and repent. If thou watch not, I will come upon the suddenly, like a thiefe in the night, and thou shalt not know what houre. They haue no courage for the truth upon earth, Ierem. 9. 3.*

Five reasons wherefore the fiue Articles of Perth ought not to be ratified in this present Parliament.

Other reasons.

First, because that assembly was not lawfully constitute, wanting a fundamentall priviledge of a lawfull assembly; in respect that contrary to the act of the generall Assembly holden anno 1600, and anno 1568, Bishops, Barons, and Burgesses voted, not being authorized with Commissioners from Synods, Presbyteries nor Sessions of Kirks His maiesties letter direct to particular Barons and Burgesses, without commission from their incorporations, could not giue them vote in Parliament, much lesse in the generall Assembly.

Secondly,

Secondly, putting the case that those Articles were indifferent, yet the Assembly hath erred, in respect it hath concluded contrary to the Apostolick rule in things indifferent, which is, that the practise should not onely not compell him that for conscience refuseth to practise, but also, least hee offend him, should forbeare to practise himselfe, Propter conscientiam non tuam sed ipsius dico, 1. Cor. 10. 29. *If thy brother be grieved for thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably, destroy him not for thy meat for whom Christ hath died,* Rom. 14. vers. 15.

Thirdly, because the foresaid Articles being determined in alteram partè per circumstantias impeditivas *in themselves are unlawfull. The observation of it drawing with it a revolt and returning back againe to Popish rites and ceremonies; a violation of our profession, subscriptions, and oathes, whereby we renounced them; a confirming of Papists in their errours, and putting them in hope of our comming to them in more substantiall poynts; a grieving of the hearts of all zealously affected; a preparatiue in the hearts of the commontie (who measure religion more by the externall marke of ceremonies, then by substantiall poynts of doctrine) to the receiving againe of whole Poperie; a terrible rending of this kirke, inducing Atheisme in place of Religion, the people not knowing what to beleeue, and seeing the observation of Yule obtruded, which before discharged by Act of Parliament in all pulpits of Scotland was sufficiently declared to bee the invention and tradition of man, to bee vaill worship, superstition, entertaining the people in an errour anent the the birth of Christ, leading them to all sort of excesse and profanation, and Geniculation the first of the 25 ceremonies of the Masse,* teste Bellarmino, *a gesture invented and ordained onely by Antichrist more then 1300 yeares after Christ, as the principall externall worship of their breaden god now inforced in the celebration of the Lords supper, under pretence of indifferencie, more reverence and humilitie. As though we were not forbidden* præcepto negativo *to presume to give or receive the communion more reverently then Christ and his Disciples did, or that we were not commanded* præcepto affirmativo, *to imitate Christ in all his religious actions neither miraculous nor admirable, nor having a particular reason restricting them to that time: as though we were not warranted* præcepto comparativo *rather to imitate Christ with a table gesture in that holy banquet, then Antichrist with a gesture of adoration inductiue to Idolatry: or as though a man were able to give a reason why the surplice, the crosse, and the elevation of the bread may not as well be received (being of more antiquitie) and if the Minister having a surplice with crossing elevat the bread, and the people bow their knee, what want we of a Masse,* Vbi semelde erratum est, in præcepta deventitur.

Fourthly, because if the high commission bee imboldened by ratifi-

fication of this Parliament to depriue Ministers, that will stand out against these ceremonies, being the greatest number of the best qualified, most painfull and fruitfull of their calling within the land, what a lamentable desolation shall it draw upon this Church? What a wound shall it be to euery godly heart to see their faithfull Pastors deprived, warded, and banished for giving the communion as Christ gaue it, and refusing to giue it after the forme of Antichrist? Is this a time to obtrude Antichristian ceremonies in the kirk, when the bloody sword of Antichrist is embrewed in the bloud of so many thousand protestants in France and Germanie.

Lastly, because it was never seen, that this Parliament confirmed the acts of any assembly, which they knew was called in question, not onely by a great number of the speciall of the ministerie, but also by the greatest part of the most zealous professours of the whole body of the kingdome, as is manifest by the practise of Edinburgh seeking the Lords supper in thousands without the citie.

An admonition to the well affected Nobilitie, Barons and Burgesses, Commissioners in this present Parliament.

Admonitions to the same effect.

DO E not your Honours now at last perceiue, how mightily the Mysterie of iniquitie, the spirit of Antichrist, the power of darknesse and delusion prevailes amongst us in the judgement of God; presuppose not in the intention of man, which we presume not to search, but leaue to the Lord the searcher of hearts. If Papists goe free, who used to be fined, if professors be counted Puritanes, and religion disgraced, if patrons of Poperie be set at libertie, and the faithfull committed, if Seminarie Priests goe abroad, and true Pastors be confined and imprisoned, if sea-ports be patent to forraine Papists and banished Ministers lye vnrecalled, if sundry statesmen be small friends to true profession, and not unfriends to Papistry, if time servers and men pleasers usurpe commission for Christs kirk being her greatest enemies, if Papists do incroach and professors grow cold. If it be discharged that search be made for massprieſts, or that these foxes being discovered, should be apprehended as your honours may try, whose intelligence is better, is not there the sound of the sound of the feet of Popery at the doores, whereunto the Lord hath long threatned to cast vs. The discipline of Christs kirk is already welneere destroyed, and turned Antichristian by the usurpation and tyranny of our Prelats The worship of God is next, and now among your hands which if ye suffer to be pollutted by the Romish leaven of their unhallowed rites, as sundry of the ministery unwisely haue done, we may iustly feare the corruption of doctrine, and so all is gone.

Consider

Consider then, that the touchstone to try your loue to the truth, is at this time, the act concerning these cursed ceremonies, counted indifferent by many, but in effect pernicious, the bringing back again whereof by the confession of all, even of the vrgers, is at least unnecessary and untimous, and so in religion abhominable and impious. But if we will say the truth, it is 1. a returning with the dogg to the vomit, 2. to Papists and professours scandalous, 3. contrary to the Word, as is largely proven by sundry, and so presumptuous, 4. in regard of the present vse, whersoever they are received, proving superstitious, 5. by reason of the oath of God, which hereby is despised, blasphemous, 6. in regard of the consequences damnable and diuelish, and for the manner of their establishing by violence and craftines, to all them who haue eyes, odious. Which, as your honours in Gods mercie haue marked, so haue you done well that being priuily tried, yee haue not dissembled your dislike both of the cause, and the crooked conuoy of it. For well might ye know, when supplicants were sent to prison, and truth was misconstrued and counted treason; when Ministers were discharged off the towne for feare of requesting your Honours to stand for the Lord, little good was to be looked after so godlesse a beginning. It rests now, that ye be constant and settled in the loue of the truth. By threatnings, by allurements, by hopes, by feares touching your selues and your faithful pastors, and other endlesse wayes of darknesse they studie to draw away and divert you either to make you vote against Christ, or to be Neutralls and Nonliquets; or to slide away and denie your presence by one meanes or other; to draw you under the curse of Meroz, for not helping the Lord against the mightie. But the busier they are, the lesse freedome in this Parliament; the lesse worth in their causes, the greater is your triall, who stand to give testimonie to Christ, your faith the more pretious, and your reward the more glorious. For God hath said, Hee that overcommeth shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my sonne. Rev. 21.8. But the fearfull (*that is, such who for feare of man dare not giue testimony to the truth of God*) and the vnbeleeving, &c shall haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstome, which is the second death.

Another Admonition.

Please your Honours take heed what you doe at this peremptor time concerning the establishing of the vnlawfull act of the pretended assembly of Perth. Christ hath put his cause in your hands; be faithfull now or never. Beware of bringing back and casting in again of this stumbling block. The glory of God, the standing of the kirk of this land, your own soules, and the soules of many thousands, for whom Christ Iesus died, is now in hazard, and depends much (if ye look to outward meanes) vpon your fidelitie, whereof ye shall not want witnes neither in heaven nor

earth The eyes of men and Angels are upon you, the eyes of those who mourne for the miseries of Gods kirk are longing for comfort from you. And the great iudge of the World, the almightie our God, whose eyes are all a flaming fire, doe behold every mans part in this present Parliament. Your votes, your actes, your names shall be registrate to all posterity. Ponder therefore the Weight of the cause Wherewith ye meddle, and the fearfull inconveniences Which doe accompany & shall follow the ratification of the act of that pretended assembly, that will befall the kingdom of Christ, his ministery, the best part of sincere professors, your friends & familiars, your children & posterity, and it may be also your owne persons both spiritually & civilly. For if, according to your place, in prudent & humble maner yee do not resist the establishing of that act by all lawfull meanes, yee cannot cleanse your selves of despising the oath and covenant of God solemnly sworne and subscrived by all estates, and of drawing down the undoubted curse of God, which hastens now to come upon us. Ye cannot be guiltles of encouraging and emboldening the Papists to higher attempts then wee are wore off; yea and of the greeving of the hearts of the kings best subiects, of brangling their faith, and casting them in perplexitie how to serve both God & their natiue king. Ye cannot be guiltlesse of the thrusling out of faithfull ministers, and bringing in of yong boyes, hirclings and time servers to the overthrow of the Gospel, & slaughter of souls. Ye cannot missse to draw the Whole land in a snare, and in special the Weaker Christians, who by the force of civil law must either suffer their guides to become a prey to Worse subiects then themselves, or at least their meanes and estates to be so pilled and impaired by fines and penalties, as in a short time they shall neither be able to serve their king, their countrey, nor their own necessities, or else to controll and enthrall their consciences to the destruction of their souls. Now is the time Wisely to prevent these things, Which if ye doe, time shall approve you, God and good men shall acknaWledge you in this poynt, better Christians, better Statesmen, better servants of God, more loyall and Wise subiects to the king, better friends to kirk & commonWeale, then they Who upon Whatsoever pretences shall either urge or yeeld to the contrarie. Resist therfore the establishing of ceremonies, as a reentrie of Papistrie. Our neighbour countrey grones under the yoak Which now is presented again to their necks, and would redeeme the libertie which you haue had, and yet in some measure enjoy. It cost your predecessors many a tear With God, & their uttermost endevors With men to purchase & transmit this liberty unto you; and Christ hath bought it With his bloud for you. Count not so lightly of it, as to loose it for a moment, but stand fast in that liberty wherWith Christ hath made you free, and be not intangled again with the yoake of bondage. Good subiects haue no iust cause to fear the offence of a good king in maintaining Gods right and their owne, so long as their cause is honest, and their defence lawful. Stand therfore for the truth, & confesse Christ before men, as ye Would that he shold confess you before the father.

Archip.

Archip. If they had taken time to ponder your reasons and exhortations, I cannot think that they could haue resisted so great evidence of truth so powerfully expressed. But what resolution was taken in case all these meanes should fail?

Epaph. The Ministers resolved upon the last remedie: a Protestation vvhich they left behind them in these words.

Protestatio to the Parliament.

MAy it please your Honours in this present Parliament, assembled under the right high and excellent Maj. of our deer & dread Sov. We haue now before our eyes the foresien and foretold bitter fruits of these alterations of the Kirk, and just fear of further evils to ensue upon such dangerous beginnings, so much the more, as vvee are deprived of that ordinarie and general Assembly vvherunto properly belongs to propone at Parliament the Kirk affaires. And although for supplement of that pitifull defect, in humble manner vve did offer our reasonable supplication, conform to his High. proclamation, vve can haue no place to be heard in our lawfull and religious desires. In this hard and heavie case the sensible danger of our unanimous silence in these dates of the growth of som decay of grace, contempt of the Gospell, & troubles abroad moved for the most part by the patrons of that bloudy Coūcel of Trent, & the conscience of our inevitable cōpearance before the judgment seat of Christ, to giue an account of our stewardship, compels us, as frō high extremitie, to declare to your H: our bounden & harty affection, to hold fast that ancient faith & forme of Religion, received, beleeved and defended by the Kirk of Scotl. the King Maj. and Estates, the vvhole bodie of this Realm, your forefeers of vvorthy memory, and your selues; as Gods eternal truth & onely ground of our salvation, and of our high peace and prosperity, by Gods undeserved mercie so long continued: as also our unfeigned detestation of all formes & ceremonies, many or few, that enemies of the truth may cast in our teeth as signes of repentance of our reformation, or any part thereof, and presages to them of our return to their damned superstition, either substance or ceremonies thereof. And likewise in the name of Iesus Christ, who shall render to every one, that which he hath done in the flesh, to require your Honr: to stand stedfastly for the said ancient Religion, forme of doctrine, Sacraments & Discipline, as they haue been ministred in this Kirk ever since the Reformation of Religion, for the jurisdiction and liberte of the true Kirk, generall and provincial Assemblies, Presbyteries & Sessions, as they are established by the Kirk, and laves of this Kingdome, and against all usurpation and corruption of spiritual government, and unnecessary Ceremonies, as the five Articles of Perth Assembly, and whatsoever is as apple of strife, and deadly destroyers of the kirk of Iesus Christ.

Otherwise, if it shall happen (as God forbid) that any matter be propounded, put in article, or concluded in this present Parliament, in prejudice of the said Religion, & acts of Parliament past in favour of the same, vvhich God forbid, and sore against our harts, vve will be constrained to use the remedy

of Protestation. Like as adhering to the protestations made to the Parliament holden at Perth in the yeare of God 1606, *and to the Protestation aſid in the laſt Parliament holden at Edinburgh, and to all other Protestations whatſoever made in favour of this Kirk, and againſt all hurts and injuries intended againſt the ſame. By theſe preſents, we ſolemnly proteſt all, and whatſoever Articles, Acts, and others whatſoever ſhall be proponed, concluded and publiſhed in or from this preſent Parliament in prejudice of the iuriſdiction and libertie of the Kirk, Aſſemblies therof, order eſtabliſhed, or any part therof; or in favours of uſurped governement and damned Hierarchie, of Ceremonies and alterations whatſoever, concerning the miniſtration of the Sacraments, or any other point, or practiſe of diſcipline received in this Kingdome. And for due execution hereof wills and requeſt our welbeloved Brother to ſubſcribe, and to preſent the ſame, as officers in open face of Parliament, to the Lords of Articles being conveened, and, if need bee, to affixe the ſame upon the Parliament houſe dore, or Market croſſe of Edinburgh. To the effect, that our reaſonable diſſaſſent from all and whatſoever, may in any ſort prejudge the forme of Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome, may be notorly knowen. At Edinburgh the* 25 *day of Iuly* 1621.

Archip. Ye haue ſhewed me evident teſtimonies of their fidelitie, vvhich maugre oblivion and malice vvill bide after them, vvhen they are gone out of this vworld, as they left them behind, vvhen they vvere put out of that Town: I would now know vvhat vvas the ſucceſſe.

Epaph. The former reaſons and admonitions took impreſſion in many hearts, few vvere in any doubt vvhat to doe, if they had been left to their own libertie: for there was not one vvho either reſpected theſe fiue Articles for their own good qualitie, or for the Kirks authoritie: neither ever to this day were they honoured with the name of an Act of the generall Aſſembly, but beare the note of baſeneſſe in the title of Articles. All the perplexity was, vvhat to doe in ſo great extremitie and urging importunitie: for the Maſters of vvork, both for compaſſing the purpoſe, and keeping themſelues from cenſure, ſet their wits by all meanes to vworke ſo many, as they might, to be of their mind. And for this effect there vvas no ſmall buſineſſe in the beginning to ſingle out and ſet inclinable Lords and Noblemen, and ſo to make way for their Election, who vvere to ſit upon the Articles, that therby might be gained in hope of further victorie thirty and two Votes at leaſt in their judgement, vvho had made proſperous tryall of ſuch cunning firſt at Perth: and now, knowing vvith vvhom they dealt, had no leſſe hope of ſucceſſe here.

Archipp. That would ſeeme to be like the policie of our late Eccle-

Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, in chosing of the privie conference. But after so full preparation, vvhether vvas the day appointed for holding the Parliament now at last observed vvith the vvonted solemnitie?

Epiph. It vvas; for upon Wednesday the 25 of Iuly 1621 at the Palace of Halyroode-house, there is first a Majesticall appearance of high honour and splendor glancing from that glorious convention prepared for the sacred and high Court of Parliament, the most excellent person of the mightie King and Head of this Monarchie, being resembled by the potent and noble Lord *Iames* Marquesse of Hammilton his Highnesse Commissioner, and the Estates of Parliament ranked according to the worth of their persons, and the deserved and unspotted dignitie of their places. And then they marched in state from the said palace with honours borne according to the custome of this ancient Kingdome, the *Crown* by the Earle of Angus, the *Scepter* by the Earle of Marr, the *Sword* by the Earle of Rothesse to the Parliament house, where they entred and set themselues in their honourable places, neither Papists nor any other sort of persons desirous to heare and see, being excluded. Riding of the Parliament.

Archipp. Why passe yee the Prelacie, vvho of dutie ought to haue beene first remembred in this their owne Ceremoniall Parliament.

Epiph. Neither ye nor I can remember them vvith such acclamation of joy, as a Papist did, who before many Gentlemen cryed aloud in the street vvith lifted up hand directing his speech to the Bishop of Santandroes. *God blesse you my Lord, With all your Brethren and favourers of your course; for you and they are furthering the Way to content his Majestie, and us all that are Catholickes, which God prosper, and none resists, except a number of evill disposed Ministers.* But the clamour of the multitude, and the accustomed noise at such times suppressed the bablings of the seditious Parasite, and buried them in their eares vvho vvere neerest unto himselfe.

Archipp. Seeing Papists tooke the boldnesse both to speak upon the street, and to be present in the house, modest Ministers would haue been overseen, notwithstanding of the straitnesse of the Proclamation against them.

Epiph. Yet there vvas speciall care recommended to the double guard vvithout and vvithin, and as great attendance given that no Minister vvanting the Bishops licence should be suffered to enter. And after that the members of the Parliament vvere placed, a second search made for Ministers, that if any had been permitted to enter, they might be removed.

Archip. How can yee be able to lead me through to the end, seeing

seeing ye were neither an actor, nor permitted to be witnesse of the remanent proceeding?

Epaph. The Lydian ring is worne away long since. Any of the beholders could relate all that vvas done openly: every one of the members of the Court could not see vvhat vvas done secretly. Lookers on many times see more then gamesters; and in the vale the hill is best seen.

Archip. If ye take upon you to tell me the truth, I will cease to be curious about the mean of your information: vvhat was done in that first meeting.

Speeches in the house of Parliament.

Epaph. First the B. of Santandroes after a verie short prayer, read a part of Scripture, Rom. 13. 7. and delivered a discourse chiefly intending to perswade the taxation. After him my Lord Commissioner had a speech, declaring to the Estates his Maj. great and extraordinary troubles, and continuall deburfements in supporting the King of Beheme, his Queen, & their mother, and in continual sending of Embassadors to France, Germany and Spaine to travel for peace among the Christian Princes, besides the extraordinary aids given to the Germane Princes to retain them vvithin the compasse of the band of friendship and alliance, the charges of maintaining a sea Navie under the conduct of Sir *Robert Mansfield;* adding also that his Maj. sustained and suffered more for the persecutions & afflictions of the Protestants, and for the defence of the Reformed Kirk then all the Princes in the world besides, with divers other insinuations to perswade a large supply: And for furtherance thereof his L. professed to haue vvarrant to giue vway to any good advice, wherby mony might increase & abound among us after the taxation. His L. spake for the flue Articles under the name of matters of Kirk Discipline, that had been concluded in former Assemblies, practised in the Primitiue Church, not forbidden by the word of God, & so able to be defined by the Prince, who hath lawful power to command in matters indifferent. He doubted nothing of their good affection, & concourse to the good advancement of so necessary a service, as was then in hand. And for himself he should striue to let his Maj. know every mans part: & he for his part would contribute his best endevours to a good successe. In the third place my Lord Chancellour had his *Quanquam*, wherin he spake to the honour of the audience, the quality of the *Solium Regale*, where the Commissioner sate, the persons vvho were members of that Assembly severally, giving every one his own due, & with repetition of some things touched by the Cõmissioner & the Bish. of S. androes, cõcerning the necessity imposed upon our liberality, & experience to giue way to the Church ordinances, fetching some conclusion from old judgement of *Rex* and *Sacerdos* in the person of *Numa:*

he

he ended with an exhortation to the Lords, to goe cheerfully and with a good mind to the election of the Lords of Articles.

Archip. Never was *Scipio*, *Hannibal*, *Maccabeus*, never *Codrus*, *Thrasybulus*, nor *Themistocles*, or any Grecian, Romane, or Iew, so much obliged for their Countrey, as these three persons for the defence and maintenance of the true Religion, and common estate of Scotland; of the priviledges, lawes and liberties pertaining to the one and the other: they being debters to the Kirk and Common-weale of their life, liberty, honourable places and callings, of their present condition and future expectation: and lying under the obligation of birth, education, imitation of their honourable predecessours, of their offices, personall promises, and whatsoever other obligatorie respects: And therefore it cannot be but in the midst of so many dangers present and imminent, they behoved to say something, both for testfying their hearty affections, and for the weale of the Realme.

Epaph. That was not their errand, and had been a contradiction to the other part of their speech, and to their following actions: and therefore without further mention of publicke matters, or any insinuation of their oblished affection to their spirituall mother the Kirk crying for their help; or to their naturall mother the Countrey trembling under the burthen of divers calamities, and under the terrours of forrain feare, the actions of the utter house were closed for that time.

Archip. Was there no further done that day for advancement of the purpose?

Epaph. Not so much in shew, as that vvhich is done, but more in substance. For the Lord Commissioner, the Nobility and Prelates, with Chancellour, Treasurer, Secretarie, and Clerke Register, Officers of Estate, the life and leaders of this compend of the Kingdome, went into the inner house, for election of the LL. of Articles, not after that most free forme beseeming Parliaments and Counsels, where choice is made of persons most indifferent, of best judgement, and no way partially affected to any partie, or restrained to the loue of any cause, but by some learned oblivion of this most reasonable rule, and by some new law, hid custom and singular practick, for performing of the most free, harmelesse and innocent part of this high action, the election of the Lords of Articles proceeded in another sort.

Election of the Lords of Articles, and their proceedings

Archip. Ye are now upon the *primum mobile*, the secret wheeles, which guide the hand and hammer without: and therefore remove the cover, that I may see the beginnning of the motion.

Epaph. The Bishops who from their first fabrick haue founded many ill houres to this Kirk and Countrey, continually behaving them-

themselues as Peeres of the Kingdome, professed parties against the Ministers and Discipline, and as partiall Iudges and led Witnesses, when questions concerning Ministers or Kirk governement did occurre: or where opposition was to be made to matters proponed in prejudice of the one and the other, they went to their roomes, and were not onely silent contrary to the debt of their places: but all singing one song, the rest following the first, in a reasonlesse harmony rare to be found in *Paris*, *Venice*, or the most famous Counsells in the world: they did choose those eight of the Nobility, *Angus*, *Mortoun*, *Nithesdail*, *Wigtoun*, *Roxburgh*, *Buckelugh*, *Scone*, *Carnegie*: and these made eight of the Bishops, *Santandroes*, *Glasgow*, *Dunkeld*, *Aberdeen*, *Brechin*, *Dumblane*, *Argyle*, *Orknay*: and these altogether did choose eight Barones and eight Burgesses. A faire election of foure eights, receiving their names from the clieff of the song, and inspired with the concord of the first eight, who would bee loath to choose any different from their owne minde, and of the second eight conforme to them.

Archip. Was there never a note out of tune?

Epaph. By providence two notes of the third eight, and one of the fourth jarred a little to make the melodie of the whole 32 the more sensible to the eares of the hearers by their irregularity. Finally, for augmenting the number of fair drawn voters, the seven Officers of Estate, *Chancellour*, *Treasurer*, *Secretar*, *Privie-seale*, *Iustice Clearke*, *Advocate*, and *Clearke Register* are adjoyned; all faithfull servants, and loath by crossing or comming in the contrary of present intentions, to perill their liberall pensions, their great Offices, their present imployments, and hopes of higher preferment.

Archip. That election so enlarged and qualified with those last seven, is a strong first fell, and a great conquest of votes in favours of chiefe desires.

Epaph. Yet it is not quarrelled here, as in former times, when mens own particulars were in hand. Then presence was weak, now absence is strong. What Prince and prelate could not work vvhen Kirk rent sacrilegiously possessed was but under feare of quarrell, now in these Halcion daies, vvhen mens particulars are out of feare, Politickes and Prelates can easily bring to passe, and so the first strength of the Parliament is taken in presage of expected victorie.

Archip. No marvell; for the case is altered. Which vvas the first meeting of the Lords, I may say, of the flue Articles thus elected?

Epaph. Vpon Thursday the 26 of Iuly, after the Cabinet Coun-

Counſell, vvhich daily met in the Abbay by ſixe in the morning and ſate vvhile nine, to dreſſe and diſpoſe matters to be done in ſuch a courſe, as might leade moſt eaſily to the deſtinate end.

Archip. Thoſe Lords of Articles convened did they enter at their firſt meeting upon the fiue Articles?

Epaph The Kirk is prejudged heere of her ancient priviledge, to her great loſſe, and they, that all matters may be rightly tymed, are wiſely directed to treat of the matter of Taxation in the firſt place: becauſe ſo many as vvere affectioned to liberty from Ceremonies, under that hope would be eaſily induced to a large ſubſidie, vvherein they had perhaps been found leſſe willing, or more hardly diſpoſed, if they had not looked to decline that bondage. When the taxation vvas concluded then vvere brought in into the ſecond place the matters of the Kirk.

Archip. Yet conſidering the oppoſitions juſtly made againſt theſe Articles at Perth; the violent and crooked wayes, vvherby they vvere rather forced and impoſed, then concluded vvith conſent, as reaſon and the cuſtome of the Kirkes craved; the hard practiſes paſt againſt certain honeſt Miniſters, and great diſcontentment univerſally in the Country tending to dangerous diſtractions for refuſall of a ſort of obedience, vvhich is no vvaies directed by the act itſelf, nor not once motioned, but greatly feared, when they vvere ſo eagerly dealt for, and now, when the juſt fear of more deſperate inconveniences, and the conſcience of the calling of God did inforce to try the difference betwixt an act, or rather an advice of the Kirk ſimple and free of all ſanction or cenſure, to be impoſed upon the Contraveeners, and a law of authority which may be made vigorous and forcible by the hand of the Magiſtrate for arbitrarie execution againſt innocent and harmleſſe Paſtors, and people uncapable of theſe practiſes by reaſon of perſonall reſtraint and perſwaſion of their own minds to the contrary, I can hardly be induced to think howſoever nothing vvas ſpoken in the face of the Parliament, yet now in private amongſt themſelues, they vvill peremptorily determine, without due deliberation at leaſt, if not for purging the humour, yet for ſtubbing the Canker to prevent utter conſumption, their care will be more bended there then in all other matters.

Epaph. Your commendable judgement of charity tels you, what ſhould be done, but verity muſt tell vvhat vvas done. At the incomming of the Article of the taxation, the Lord Commiſſioner ſpake as before, to further, upon the ordinary and extraordinary taxations, proportions therof, & queſtions moved anent the exemption and priviledges of the Lords of Seſſion, which being matters

touching mens persons and their worldly particulars, are attended diligently, a large time by the space of whole three daies spent in reasoning, voting, preferring petitions, receiving answeres, and setling conditions in favour of men fearing their own hurt. Nothing concluded but with great advisement and very circumspectly. But the other being matters of Religion touching men in their conscience, and the Kirk in her peace, as things indifferent were quickly and smoothly past in verie short space vvithout search of any of your many difficulties, albeit with seene opposition and dissassent of so many, as in the providence of God might in such a time and place beare witnesse to the truth.

Archip. Was the consent of the Lords of the Articles of such force, that there was no hope of remedy afterwards.

Epaph. By ordinary custome of former times, purposes once past in the Articles haue good appearance to goe through at Parliament. But the Plot-masters of the fiue Articles; partly through feare of hard successe, which they had certainely found by suddain voting in publick; and partly to keep their own plantation free of disgracefull opposition, and themselues with their Associates from the blame of madnesse by the multitude of companions, they dare not hazard at the first; but resolue to hold the Parliament sitting and the Lords of the Articles doing for some daies, till they can see a faire day for conclusion through the stormes of common rumour, and diligent travels of many then set to opposition.

Policies making way for conclusions.

Archip. What was the task of the Lords of Articles during that large time; for the Parliament was not closed till the 4 of August?

Epaph. After some particulars of private men; they were set to hunting, hauking, fowling &c. to make some sumptuarie lawes against banquetting, and some vestiary against Pasments silk &c. for prolonging time, when their minds were upon nothing lesse then upon that pastime.

Archip. What cunning vvas used in the meane time for contriving the conclusion?

Epaph. Ye know that it is taught by the Masters of Policy, that they who would worke men to their purpose, must either haue some knowledge of their inclinations, and so perswade them: or their infirmities and feares, and so awe them, or of those who haue the government of them, and so rule them. And at this time the very profundities of our homely policies were opened up, *tanquam pro aris & focis.*

Archip. But I know that Commissioners of Parliament should

be men of another mettall. He that willeth Christians to be innocent as Doues in their dealing with others, warneth them also to be as wise as serpents in the dealing of others with them.

Epaph. Yet some are so possest with a prejudicate opinion, that they thinke all sincerity and conscience, either to be pretended onely, as it is too often, or to proceed out of phantasie, simplicitie of manners, and inexperience of the affaires of the world: So that in their estimation, confirmed by so many instances, as may make up more then one experience, no man almost is so nice, but he may be talked with, if he be taken on the right side. Vpon this ground the solistations, protestations, and promises of great reward, often used since the beginning of the Parliament are here againe enlarged amply, and engyred finely for soupling such with sueeties, as they take to be Minnies mouthes. And for the hopefull generation of greater spirits, whether thinking by contradiction to ascend, or straited with their own necessities, there were dressed large promises of great rewards for service to be done at this time, with great enforcements of nodds and complements of the most significant sort for bewitching the eyes of the good Gentlemen to apprehend felicity in their own facility, and their standing or falling in the verball insinuations of their said friends.

χρήματα χρήματ' ἄνερ. Ἀργυρίοις λύ χαλκίσι μαχοῦ καὶ πάντα νικήσεις.

Maxima pars hominũ hunc habet morem, quod sibi volunt, dum id impetrant boni sunt, sed id ubi penes se habent ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi fiunt.

Archip. That might be a policie for some, but it could not serue for all, especially for such as were at their hopes end with the world.

Epaph Benefits already received were presented to that sort in the cup of exprobation, to dash them with the wrath of their unthankefulnes, and feare of former favour to be unrecoverably lost, if at this time they did not proue more then honest men. Some were threatned with utter ruine: and the sillier sort terrified out of their wits with loud blasts of highest displeasure, ready to draw on without delay a deluge of desolations upon the Kirk, if the Articles happened at that time to be refused.

Archip. Both these are like Mathematicall Midses to demonstrate Metaphysicall conclusions, with what face could the world be so used for an argument in matters of Religion?

Epaph. The matters were couched in the corners of extenuation, and vilified in the dust of indifferencie; howsoever they were eminent and highest in their desires and intention, and had more lovers and friends to doe for them, then Religion it selfe I feare should find were t to passe in an act of Parliament.

Archip. Yet I am sure these Ringleaders could not well know the names of many Commissioners and Voters, farre lesse their severall dispositions and intentions.

Epaph. For gaining the unknown, and trying all, treacherous Intelligencers are sent forth, in outward apparance men of verie good sort, but indeed of the generation of the Neronian quadruplators to shuffle themselues in all honest companies, but specially in the meetings of Noblemen, commissioners of Shires and Burrowes, vvhere under colour of the same affection and inclination to like or dislike, as those Sinons found the disposition of companies vvhere they happened to be, they lurked; but still aboue all things they counterfeited a dislike of Perth Articles; and by that vile and base Iudas like dissimulation sucked out mens minds, and became acquaint vvith all their counsels that vvisely vvere not aware of them. The points of their false profession vvere to learne mens names, their natures and their purposes, that thereby they might be the more able to enforme their Masters, *Who was What, and Who was not.* And some of the cut-throats, vvhere they were admitted vvould seeme in presence to giue approbation to such things as they heard, that so they might goe lesse suspected: and sometime by their pernicious fraud, vvhere they durst adventure, they vvould divert honest men most craftily from good motions and resolutions, and then at night returne to their directors, like venemous vvaspes clogged vvith filthy lies and flattering suggestions; Albeit there vvere some like Æsops Flee, that sate upon the Axetree of the Coach vvheele, and sayd, *What a dust doe I raise?*

Delatores, hominum genus publico exitio reperum & poenis quidem omnium sacis coercitum. Tacit.

Archip. Particular persons might be known and disappointed by that craft; but vvhen they conveened vvith the Estates, whereof they vvere members, they behoved to bewray themselues, and so be brought by the rest to a right mind againe.

Eppah. The Noblemen and Commissioners of Shires and Burrowes, in a mild manner of Imperious request, vvere restrained from the necessary use of the ancient priviledge granted to the severall Estates of this land, to conveene by themselues in time of Parliament, for advising, reasoning, and preparing themselues the more deliberately to vote in publicke. And although for their better information it vvas promised, that they should haue inspection of things past by the Lords of Articles, at least 24 houres before meeting in publick, it vvas not onely refused, but they were enjoyned that they should never upon any condition haue meeting at any time or place, vvithout speciall consent given by my Lord Commissioner.

Archip. I can reply nothing in this case; your depths are become so shallow that a vveake eye may see the ground of them. I vvould never haue looked that the former deceivers could haue reported so much as the common favour of *Augustus* or *Phillip*, *como proditurosꝰ*

Ἐγω προδοσιαν φιλῶ ἀδοτας δε ου πιστευω.

Aitares, non proditores, or that the alternatiue of *Themistocles* going with commission to the Andrians, could haue been heere allowed, either fairnesse or force, words or violence.

Epaph. I might open unto you greater depths, vvherein *Shippes* vvere seene sailing, and *Eagles* attending them, and discover secrets vvhere *Serpents* vvere gliding, and the greatest *Like a man with a maide* playing, vvhen the most expert in the matter of Articles, and of best credit to make voters, vvent in paires: The *first man*, and his *fellow labourer*, *The Scholer and his Pedagogue*, *The Principall and his cautioner*, all running under great hope to come speed, and that both privately and publickely, in the house, and upon the street, at evening and morning, in all places and occasions, vvith as many fine formes as they did meet with fashions of men.

δυο ἰλλυσιὸ τφν ἔνιοι κρ- μιζον πλοια καὶ ὄνο. Suadam & violentiam ἐρῶ καὶ ἐγρ- σιν.

Archip. Your Hieroglyphicks are obscure, and ye delight to be Acroamaticall.

Epaph. I shall trouble you no more vvith them, but shall relate one policie as pithie as plaine to all; vvhereby absents vvere made present for voting, and they vvho vvere present vvere made absent from voting.

Archip. Pithie it may be, but plaine it cannot be; for that seemes an impossibility through force of contradiction.

Epaph. Ye are in the schooles, and I in the house of Parliament: ye are upon the Logicks, and I upon the Politicks. Ye perhaps never heard of *Proxeis*. But such vvas the force of our procuration in her prime and first rudiments, that she brought forth three miraculous effects: 1 Shee brought English Noblemen, neither having portion nor inheritance in this Realme, nor knowledge in our affaires Civill or Ecclesiasticall, to vote in a Scottish Parliament: 2 She made some, vvho had licences passed to remain from Parliament at that time, and had their excuses, admitted to vote by procurators: 3 She made some by the greater vvisedom and care of their faithfull Procurators, to vote against their own minds. And another vvay to make absents present, vvas by moving some vvho had obstinately refused, when they were elected by their Shires to accept commission, upon their refusall had taken instruments, and had sworn neither to ride nor vote in Parliament at that time, both to accept commission, and to be ready to vote. *Proxeis.*

Archip. But how was it possible to make them vvho vvere present to be absent?

Epaph. This was more easie, and was brought about with singular artifice, by many wayes and divers degrees. And first before the last day of the Parliament, divers Commissioners, who in derision

Three policies to make them who were present to absent.

rision were called Puritanes, because they were more affected to the ancient liberties of the Kirk against obtruded novelties, were moved to leaue both Town and Parliament; & so were found some of them stragling through the Countrey; some visiting their friends, and some posting homeward, while the Parliament was yet sitting; all flying from apprehended danger upon the one side, and from inforcing importunity on the other.

Archip. When was the last day, for that behoved to be the great day?

Epaph. There was first a cautelous bruite broched and blowen abroad with a snell aire of seeming discontentment, that the Parliament would sit longer then was looked for, and it might be till the Articles were concluded: and then the voters of victorie being numbred, and successe brought under the eye of good hope, suddenly without the knowledge, and beside the expectation of many of the members of the Parliament, Saturday the foutth of August was chosen as the fittest time for closing the action.

Archip. But it is not time yet for you to close your narration, ye must both shew me the other wayes of making them who were present, to be absent; and what was more done in that day.

Epaph. The second vvay was as skilfull, but not so successefull as the first. Vpon some question of place betwixt two Lords of Parliament, both lovers of Religion, it was apprehended that they would rather loose their votes, then perill their dignity: And therefore strait commandement was given to Noble men to keep their own places. But as that worthy Grecian with his fellow-ambassadour buried their private emulations till their return, when the publicke affaires of the common-wealth were exped; so they perceiving the snare, packed up the controversie for that time, and of their Christian discretion, and generous affection, preferring a substantiall duety to a circumstantial ceremony kept their liberty, and so disappointed that policie. And as the first policie of this sort perswaded some to leaue the Town, so the second vvould haue moved others to leaue their riding. But on the other side I vvill tell you by the way that their policie could not make all to be present of vvhose concurrence they assured themselues. Divine providence in one example might haue been a sufficient instruction to let them see, how easily his Majestie might haue turned all their purposes and counsels to folly, if it had beene his pleasure, for that which befell one might haue befallen the rest. For one of the Commissioners vvhom they had to be a ringleader of the rest of the Commissioners of the Burgesses fell off his horse and gaue place to another. And vvho vvas this but that Commissioner of the chiefe Burgh Edinburgh, vvho fell

that

that day in the ſtreet, and was forced to giue place to a craftſman choſen in his roome to be peere to that firſt kneeling Proveſt of that Town, which was once as another Ieruſalem ſending the puritie, power and loue of the Goſpell through all the corners of the kingdome: but now (albeit the power of grace remaine in the hearts of many hundreds) is as vniverſally ſcandalous through ſuddenly admitted novations by themſelves and their paſtors too penitent of their proteſtation, practiſers, and preachers of contrary conformitie, and paternes of change to the whole countrey. The Lord give them hearts to remember from whence they are fallen, that they may repent and doe their firſt workes.

Archip. Who knoweth, but they who haue done ſo many things well for their common eſtate, common workes and priviledges of their towne, may doe ſomewhat (and the Lord bleſſe them with an open doore) for the libertie and flouriſhing eſtate of their kirke, to the wonted benefit of the whole realme. But proceed in the reſt of your policies.

Epaph. The next degree muſt be to keep them from voting, who had ridden, and now entred in the houſe of Parliament, and this vvas alſo brought about by perſwading ſome Noblemen inwardly warned to vote againſt the fiue articles, but outwardly wrought upon to vote for them; to make a mid courſe, and to lurk in the inner houſe till the kirkes part was acted, and Gods vvorſhip through her ſides had received a deadly wound, and then to come forth to the ſtage, and in their owne places to play their parts in civill matters. It is better to be altogether Chriſtians with *Paul*, then to be almoſt Chriſtians with *Agrippa*, or not all with *Feſtus*; *He that loveth father or mother* (far more he that loveth the world) *more then me, is not, &c.*

Archip. Yee remember *Nicodemus*, and *Ioſeph* of Arimathea; But there had been no place left for that policie, if the former order kept in the Articles, when the kirk was poſtponed, had been now obſerved in face of Parliament.

Epaph. To the end that this policie might haue place, when it was now made manifeſt, that other matters would not find great oppoſition, the kirk had a pithy pleader for her precedence in publicke. For after the Lord commiſſioners ſpeech, the Lord Chancellour ſpake for the kirkes right, alleadging that both reaſon and cuſtome required, that the kirk haue the firſt place, and for that cauſe giveth direction, that the Act concerning the kirk, meaning the fiue articles, and ratification thereof, bee firſt read.

Archip. What ſpeech meane yee of the Lord Commiſſioner?

Epiph. When all were now entred into the houſe, and were ſet in their owne places, after deep ſilence he had a preface for voting, ſhort, but vehement; partly exhortatorie for yeelding to the fiue Articles of Perth, partly apologetick for defence of his Ma. againſt ſurmiſes of Popiſh religion, partly declaratory, atteſting that there was nothing under heaven that could be ſo acceptable to his Majeſtie, as that the Kirk of Scotland would receiue theſe fiue Articles; and partly promiſſorie, that he would ingage his honor, faith & credit upon that princely word which his Maieſty paſt to him, that if they would receiue theſe 5 articles at that time, his Highnes would never bnrden them with any more ceremonies during his life time; according to a promiſe uttered by the Biſhop of Aberdeen to the ſame meaning, for eaſing the way to the articles, but without ſuch reply, as was made to him by a Noble man, that hee was too liberall of his promiſes, having no aſſurance: for his Majeſty would not bind himſelfe after that ſort.

Archip. That preface was a ſtrong cup of digeſtion.

Epaph. And was well ſeconded with the ſweet ſauce of my Lord Chancellors oration compoſed of two ingredients, loue and learning. For after he had pleaded in his *Exordium* for the Church her dignitie; it is, ſaith his L. an evident declaration of his Ma. loue to God and religion, that he hath ſo great care of the Kirk: and as for matters proponed, they require not much diſputation, being already concluded by learned Biſhops, Fathers, Doctors & Paſtors convened at Perth for that effect. After this confirmation, the Lord Commiſſioner addeth the confutation: for againſt the apprehenſion & ſurmiſe, that his Maieſtie was reſolved to make this kirk in all things conforme to the Church of England; he did aſſume that his Ma. willed him to ſignifie unto them, that theſe being once concluded, he would urge no other rite nor ceremonie, and that by their according to theſe, they would give ſingular declaration of their loyalty; and therfore requeſted to take heed how they voted.

Archip. Was there no mouth opened at this time to make reply, or to offer reaſon in the contrary?

Epaph. No place was left for reaſon, onely againſt that ſummary form of proceeding, the promiſe made to the Nobility for having the concluſions of the Lords of Articles 24 houres at leaſt before they were voted in publicke, was timouſly remembred and urged by a Noble man, to the effect they might proceed with deliberation according to the worth of matters, eſpecially the acts being long, and of great conſequence, and not to give ſuddain iudgment, like as many ciphers, as in effect (ſayd he) they were made by that form of dealing. I will not trouble you with the anſwer made to reaſonable a motion, and bitter repulſe of all further deliberation:

tion: but I will draw now to the conclusion.

Epaph. That is all, and I long to heare it, that I may see what proportion of policie is keeped, whether the end be answerable to the the beginnings and proceedings.

Archip. In the conclusion, when the matter is brought to the voters of the house, there was a threefold well studied confusion: first albeit the fiue articles were different in themselues, and the most part had different opinions concerning them; yet they were all hudled up in one bundell according to the practick & successe at Perth, that all of them might carry the favour of any one that was least resisted, and then every one the most misliked of them the favour of all. The same skill was used in ioyning the ordinary and extraordinary taxation: for divers of every estate thought hardly of the extraordinary taxation, all being most willing to giue large supply in the ordinary, answerable to the grat affaires in hand, and honour of the kingdome. And therefore upon assurance, that it would be refused by no man, the other was straitly tied to it. Secondly, advantage was taken of the conceived words, *Agree and disagree* the prescribed form of voting: for all being straitly discharged here as at Perth, to give any reason for their votes, that the cōclusion might passe *ad numerum non ad pondus*; or least the weight should be prejudicial to the number, & all directed to expresse thēselues simply in these words, it come to passe, that the second sillable of *Disagree* through the wide opening of the mouth at A, did eat up the first, especially in the low pronounciation of some, who being desired to speak out, threatnings and boastings vvith menacing eyes vvere breathed out against them, for the terror of others following; and so the negatiue vvere noted for affirmatiue. And thirdly, in calling the roll and marking the votes, the distinction of the three severall estates was suppressed, and all who had power to vote, were called promiscuously as so many single persons, that the conclusion might be made up by plurahtie of personall voters, without respect had to their corporations; whereas the Burrowes, one of the estates disagreed directly; and the other estate rightly considered, as it consisteth of greater & lesser Barons without mixture of officiars of estate; and absents made present by their procurators, would haue made that estate doubtsome, if not negatiue; and so all the preceeding diligence from Perth assembly to this houre notwithstanding, the act of ceremonies had found no other father at this time, except the Estate of Bishops, with others of equall engagement; as it will stil proue frowm facel as long as it is fathered upon others vvho begat it against their vvills; let men reioyce at the birth thereof, and busk it up as they please.

Threefold confusion in voting.

Archip. Busking it hath need of, but the joy at the birth could not be great, it being conceived and formed by such meanes.

Epaph. Yet, as upon the one side, the commissioners of Borrowes, who were either silent, or negatiue in the voting of that act of the fiue Articles were refused of the ratification of the priviledges of their Burrowes, which was granted to others: So upon the other side, vvhen things are now brought unto the wished end, and worne to the back, by the Bishops of the businesse many faire promises were giuen for reward, and the house presented by the Lords Commissioner and Chancellour vvith a gratulatorie sweetnesse of serviceablenesse, a remembrance of liberalitie to his Maiestie, and conformitie to his will in kirk matters, closing all with a pleasant assurance that vve should never be troubled with more ceremonies hereafter. And so the joy vvas great for conquest of the conclusion, but the time was not yet of sorrow for the premisses.

Archip. Yee tell me of the ratification of the 5 articles: but I haue heard nothing whether the protestation, penned by the Ministers, and left behind them, was vsed or not.

Epaph. The last day, the entry of the house of Parliament, the most proper place for using thereof, was most straitly kept, least any Minister should enter vvithout an Episcopall pasport. And for further securitie the Bishop of Saint Androwes man for his egregious eminencie, lest any gift should want imployment, was set over the inner barre, like *Saul* amongst the people, for debarring all Ministers, in vvhose faces hee could see any prognosticke of a Protestation. And that Bishop himselfe required the Chancellour to charge the Constable and Marshall of the house to challenge all ministers within: of which number one being named by the Marshall upon that occasion answered, My Lord yee take me for the wrong man, the Bishop himselfe brought me in. Where through the Minister, undertaker to publish the protestation in the name of the Kirke, albeit hee was within the house of Parliament, yet could not find accesse for that effect, and therefore vvent forth, and fixed one copie of the protestation aboue vvritten upon the doore of the Tolbooth, and another upon the crosse. Againe upon the 20 of August, when the Acts of Parliament were proclaimed at the crosse of Edinburgh, hee published three copies, one upon the Crosse; another upon the kirke doore; and the third upon the palace gate of Halyrood house, vvhereupon hee took instruments with all requisite solemnities, using the vvords following: *Here in the name of the brethren of the Ministery professing the religion as it hath been practised in our kirk since the reformation of the same:*

I protest against all these things that have been done in prejudice of our privileges since the first reformation, and adheres to my former protestation made and [illegible] upon the Tolbooth dore and other places; and to all the protestations made in favours of the Kirk in the time of preceding Parliaments.

Archip. It seemeth, that the feare of that Protestation before it was used, the distressed Estate of Religion through the Christian world, and their own profession that they stand for the substance of Gods worship and libertie of the Kirk, howsoever they bee liberall in Ceremonies, should have made them carefull of the ratification of the truth, and of abolishing all contrary errour and superstition.

Epaph. By the contrarie, upon deeper considerations, albeit the ratification of the libertie of the Kirk, of the Assemblies and Discipline thereof, and anent tryall and punishment of the adversaries of true Religion hath ever been as ordinarie in Parliament since the reformation of Religion, as it was now necessarie: ye shall not find a word of that purpose among all the printed actes of this so long lasting Parliament. But ye may see in the last words of of the first act an act neither read nor voted in Parliament rescinding actes made in former times against superstition. Act of Parliament.

Archip. But that nullitie is restrained by the clause, *In so far as they be derogatiue to any of the Articles aboue written.*

Epaph. It is apparant then by their owne confession, that something is here enacted against former actes of Parliament concerning the worship of God since the reformation, which some doe altogether deny. But to answer you. I ask, if a transcendent power, a great man, or a ring leader presuming to doe what he will, and through the spirit of slumber excusing himselfe from the common warning, *Giue an account of thy stewardship*, command a young man in a place of service to doe what pleaseth him; whether of the two shall make the commentary upon that clause? And must not such a tender flexible creature be more readie to please his Maker, then to stand upon points to trie what becommeth his place?

Archip. So great alteration against so many strait bonds, the omitting of the ratification of the reformed Christian Religion at such a time, and the re-establishing of superstitious Antichristian ceremonies, might have made the hearts of the agents to quake, the mindes of the multitude, who were suffered to bee present to bee miscontent; and the heavens and earth to bee astonished.

Epaph. Ye bring me now to the third point that I proponed,

Many witnesses of all sorts against the proceeding & conclusions of Parliament.

wherin I may say, the [illegible] side the Supplication, Informations, Admonitions and Protestation of [illegible] Messengers of God put out of the town, the mindes of the Actors, the [illegible] of the people declaring their feare and griefe, and the Heavens aboue vvere witnesses of the truth against that Act.

Archip. How can yee judge of the mindes of the Actors? The Lord knoweth the hearts and tryeth the reines.

Epaph. And vvill also reward every man openly according to his vworks done in secret. Yet none of the Actors could say, that in that action he intéded to honor God, or to do good to his worship. The most part of them had professed freely in private many times before their dislike of the cause and crooked convoy thereof. And the Lord in his vvise providence discovered the feare of their hearts that last day of the Parliament very early. For about foure houres in the morning there went a pittifull cry through the high street of Edinburgh, *Fye for help, Fire, Fire.* The terrible sound of the common bell, which is seldome heard but upon great motions, filleth the eares of men, raiseth many out of their beds, and bringeth them in armes bare-footed to the street, thinking that the people had made some insurrection. Through this confused confluence of people, and trouble of the vvhole town, albeit it was hard to discern, whether Master or servant was readiest to doe homage to servile feare; yet it vvas manifest, that men in highest places and known to haue strongest hand in the present course, were in greatest perturbation and perplexitie, till they were assured that there was no other intention, but to quench a fire, wherby a lodging at the New well of the Cowgate was destroyed vvithout recoverie, vvhich had been interpreted prodigious in any other place at such a time, and at this time and place, if the hearts of men had not been possessed vvith a greater fear at the first.

Archip. How vvere the people vvitnesses, and by what meanes did they declare their judgement.

Epaph. It vvere a thing impossible, to relate all their Observations. As when the newes vvere first brought to Scotland, that the Marquesse of Hammilton had undertaken that Commission, it vvas regrated by the best sort of all rankes, that the sonne of so vworthie Parents, a nobleman of so great expectation and good affection to Kirk and Commonwealth, should be tempted to giue proofe of his forraine learning, upon employment so directly crossing the will of the one and weale of the other. So the common-people partly out of their respect to him, and partly out of their feare of his Commission had frequently in their mouthes these old verses of Knight Keggow.

O Wreth-

O Wretched Scot When Keggow turnes thy King,
Then may thou doole and dolour daily sing,
For from the South great sorrow shall be bring,
Therefore o'r Scot right short shall be his ring.

And,

The time will come, I trow as Thomas *sayes,*
Heardmen shall hunt you up through gartings gill
Casting the palle and letting the plough stand still.

Again the last day of the Parliament, great multitudes, being conveened in the utter Court of Halyroode-house to behold the solemnity, order and honours, as they were borne, did obserue at the verie instant, vvhen the Lords vvent to their horses and vvere now mounted, a Swan flying over their heads from the North towards the South, flaffings with her vvings, & muttering her ominous song, whereat shaking their heads in their manner, and whispering amongst themselues, they declared vvhat opinion they had of the proceeding, and vvhat feare of a bad conclusion.

Archip. These two instances, vvhatsoever force they haue in themselues, are sufficient testimonies of the disposition and feares of the people. But how was it that the heavens were witnesses at that time? for I can not thinke that yee can like superstitious observation more then superstitious adoration.

Epaph. I loue not the snares of superstition, which is the very reproach of the Godhead. I know that faith in things divine, and right reason in things civill is better directer, then the observation of rare and prodigious events made by man, who are guided by their senses. Signes must follow and not lead the truth. But I dare not deny the power of particular providence in all the works under the Sun; lest vvith sensuall Epicures, or vvith the secure world I be forced to distribute her heavenly praises, betwixt her enemie fortune in secret, and her handmaid nature in seen second causes. The incomprehensible course of that highest providence in Gods admirable vviledom (to the foot of vvhose chair the highest link of the chaine of second causes is fast tied) hath made the great changes of states, whether of Kirkes or Commonwealthes to be sensible by concurring signes, as it hath been ordinarie in all times by observation and record of these vvorks of God, to giue warning to the vveak agents of great actions, touching the great God in his honour and men in their happinesse, to try themselues vvhether in their proceedings they haue vvalked dutifully with the convoy of truth going before, & with wisdome at the one hand & charity at the other, that so they may either rejoyce or repent, or at least be convinced against that day of the rightous judgmẽt of God. When the contro-

Lucretius ait Epicurum magno metu liberasse humanas mentes, quod superstitiones insidente, & fortuito geri omnia confirmarit.

controversie vvas betwixt *Cyrillus* and *Nestorius*, vvhich by many Kirkmen in the east favouring Nestorius part, vvas counted λογομαχία a braule about vvords, especially by *Acacius*, vvho calleu *Cyrillus* ἀκριβολογίαν precise in termes. And vvhen that Controversie vvas to be decided by the Councell of Ephesus, upon certaine signes and presages of hard successe, this verse vvas ordinarie in the mouthes of men.

Σημεῖα γὰρ τοιαῦτα γίγνεσθαι φίλοις,
Ὅταν τι νεῖς ἐγκατασκήψῃ μισῷ.

For when mischiefe hangs over the Kirk,
Then signes like these begin to work.

And *Machiavel* himselfe agreeth to the generall, *de Repub l.* 1.*c.*5 through force of experience in the mutations of States, but he neither can finde out the cause, nor make any good use of the particulars.

Archip. Ye know both the truth of the generall, and the true cause thereof, and therefore let me know the particular.

Epaph. Vpon that last day of the Parliament before foure houres after noone, vvhen all the Actes vvere now concluded, and mens hearts vvere insulting upon the Defenders, glorying in their own vvittie counsels, rejoycing in their great successe, gaping for great thankes and reward, and wishing every one he vvere the first reporter, that he might be carver of his own praise, as if he had recovered the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Palatinat: The Lord Commissioner rising from his throne, for ratifying all that vvas done by touch of the Scepter, vvas trysted by the God of heaven. For at the verie moment of that ratification, the heavens send in through the vvhole vvindowes of the house an extraordinarie great lightning: after the first a second more glancing; and then a third most terrible of all. Immediately after the lightnings, an uncouth and extraordinarie darkenes, for the suddennesse and greatnesse therof astonishing all, and couching the insolent joyes of some. The lightnings vvere seconded vvith three loud blasts of thunder, in sound and short continuance of every blast like the shot of some Cannon extraordinary great: and were taken by many vvithin the house of Parliament to be shotts from the Castle. It appeared to all that dwelt within ten or twelue miles, that the clowdes stood right aboue the town, and that the darkenesse overshadowed that part onely. By one of the blasts the Beacon standing in the entry of Leith haven vvas beaten down. After the lightnings, darknes and thundering, their fell down a shoure of haile stones extraordinary great, and last of all a strange

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Course of Conformitie
100 ans of 1686